

NEW TIMES

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY

OCT 16 1986

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

**GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE
AND FOR THE PEOPLE**



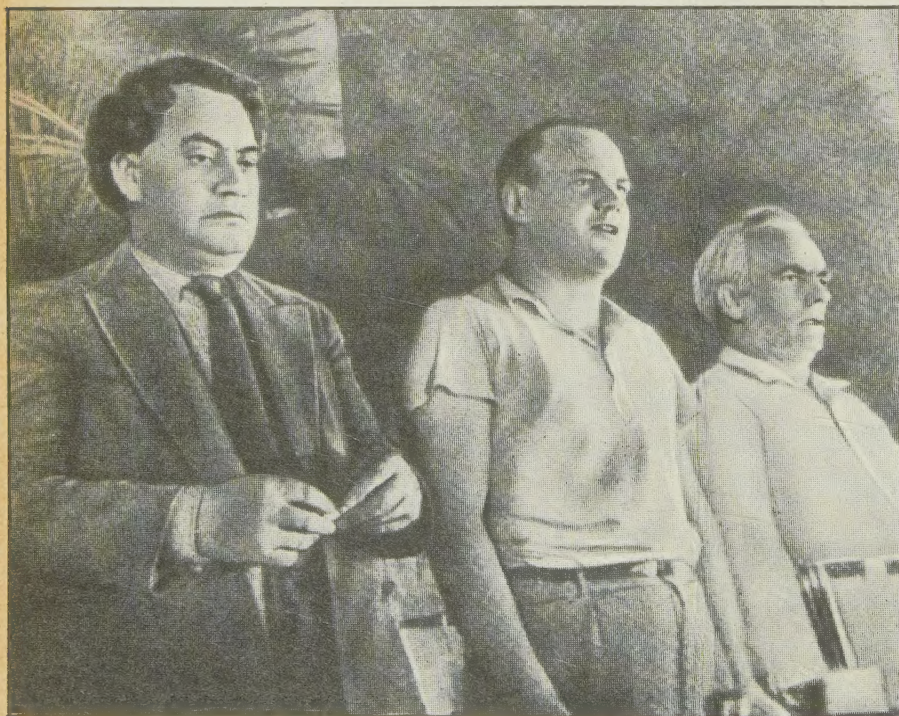


1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

Rule out war! With this watchword, the Communist International, which united the revolutionary working-class parties that had sprung up under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, emerged on the historical scene in 1919. It was in this that the Communists, the heirs to the humanist ideas of the past, conscious and staunch fighters for a peaceful future and the brotherhood of peoples, saw—and still see—their historical mission, their duty to working men and women the world over.

But the Communists never laid claim to a monopoly of the anti-war movement. More, they have always considered cooperation with all peace forces to be the indispensable condition of success in the struggle they are waging against war. Hence the emphasis placed by the 3rd Congress of the Comintern in 1921

1935. Georgi Dimitrov, Maurice Thorez and Wilhelm Pieck in the presidium of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, signing the Internationale.



on work among the masses. Hence also the tireless search for ways of uniting broad sections of the working people for the achievement of the lofty goal of preventing the capitalists from plunging the world into the abyss of war.

The years between the two world wars were trying, difficult years. In the turbulent thirties the capitalist world was gripped by an economic crisis of unprecedented dimensions and with far-reaching consequences. Want, hunger and unemployment became the lot of tens of millions of working people of town and country. Nazi terror was rampant in the country of Schiller and Goethe, Einstein and Liebknecht. Africa and Asia were the victims of militarist adventures. The danger of a global bloodbath was tangibly felt.

In this oppressive atmosphere the voice of the Communists rang out. The 7th Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, convincingly demonstrated the social maturity and political farsightedness of the international communist movement, its ability soberly to assess world developments and to correct its own strategy and tactics when necessary, while remaining dedicated to the ultimate goal—the liberation of labour from the thrall of capital.

The 7th Comintern Congress was an important



milestone in the history of the battle for the social, economic and spiritual emancipation of the workingman. It showed how the threat of the extermina-

July 4, 1934. Anti-war demonstration in New York held under the auspices of the New York City central committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

tion of the human race could be averted. The prime task was to wage a resolute struggle against fascism and war, a struggle that could be joined by all anti-fascists, all peace supporters irrespective of their political views, party affiliations and religious beliefs.

The call to unity of all peace forces which sounded from the rostrum of the 7th Congress of the Comintern is still timely. The threat of a thermonuclear holocaust makes imperative joint action by all men and women of good will.

For earlier instalments of this brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the struggle for peace see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 30, 33, 37.

MOVING DETENTE FORWARD

At last the news is good: the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has wound up its work with the conclusion of an agreement that has been welcomed with relief and hope. In the European capitals it has been assessed as a contribution to reducing the danger of war. And Mikhail Gorbachev has qualified it as a major step towards the easing of tension and improvement of the international climate so essential for resolving the crucial problems of our time.

It was hard going. But in the end common sense prevailed. Bloc and ideological considerations were laid aside for the sake of security for all. Suspicion gave way to detailed confidence-building measures, which cover a wide range of military-political commitments backed--for the first time in European history--by on-the-spot verification.

These commitments provide for prior notification of exercises and movements and concentrations of troops, the U.S. forces in Europe included. Hitherto this activity which acquired inordinate dimensions carried with it the risk of military conflicts, since it could serve as a cover for the preparation of aggression. The desire to do away with distrust is implicit also in the exchange of annual plans for military activity subject to prior notification, and the obligatory invitation of observers. Highly important too is the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force in any form, armed force included. An international barrier is thus raised to the spread of the threat of war.

Recall, however, the attacks levelled against earlier agreements. Washington has declared SALT as good as dead and is assailing the ABM treaty. More, the entire system of agreements is said to be shortsighted. According to this logic, international documents are no more than scraps of paper, and security should be sought only in nuclear weapons. In Stockholm, thanks to common sense multiplied by political will, agreements and commitments were seen as basic to security.

Each step forward makes possible the next step. In Europe the way has now been opened to real disarmament, the reduction of conventional armed forces. But the example of Stockholm calls for far greater advance.

It is within the power of mankind to close the history of wars and open the history of peaceful cooperation. Europe is only one of the participants in the overall process. That process must be carried forward.

I am a teacher of geography in a secondary school. Every day I tell my pupils how beautiful our planet is. But when I see their eyes shining with the joy of life my heart aches at the thought that all this may be brought to an end because the United States, heedless of all the peaceful initiatives of our country, continues to frighten the world with its repeated nuclear explosions. I therefore appeal to everyone who has children once again to make it clear to the American government that we need peace for long years to come so that the light of joy in our children's eyes should not be dimmed.

Alexei RYZHUK
Crimean Region, U.S.S.R.

After reading your article "Towards a Wider Peace Front" [New Times, No. 20, 1986], I am more than ever convinced that a wider peace front is what we need in Nigeria to unite people dedicated to the preservation of peace and security in the world and alert people to the dangers posed by the arms race. The fight for peace must go on every day, every hour.

Sunday E. EKEMENAH
Ife, Nigeria

If a person or a group puts progress of mankind first rhetorically and puts self first in reality, then the value of their thesis is surely somewhat questionable. We the progressive workers of my country realize that the time for change is here if our species is to survive. Communism, in our view, is the only alternative that could ensure the positive changes we need, and what is most important, preserve peace on earth.

Robert CHAMBLISS
San Francisco, U.S.A.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOBOE
ВРЕМЯ

TEMPS
NOUVEAUX

NOWE
CZASY

TIEMPOS
NUEVOS

NEUE
ZEIT

nová
doba

TEMPI
NUOVI

TEMPOS
NOVOS

40

October 13,
1986

Founded 1943

3

United Nations.
Reflections
on two speeches

12

Lebanon. Threat
of a new invasion

14

How the people of the
G.D.R. take care
of their common home

16

The Soviet MP
and what he does

18

Common Market. Turn
to a "technological
Europe"?

20

F.R.G. The Green Party

23

U.S.A.—India.
Secret interference

28

Tribute to Shostakovich

31

The chess return match.
The psychology of error

TRUE DEMOCRACY

How the U.S.S.R. Supreme
Soviet works.

p. 16



MORATORIUM: ACTION AND ARGUMENTS

Contributions by Evgeny
Velikhov, Vice-President
of the U.S.S.R. Academy
of Sciences, and U.S. geo-
physicist Thomas Cochran.

p. 6

MIDDLE JAPAN

The statistically average
Japanese prefecture of Mie
described by our cor-
respondent.

p. 25



CIA IN INDIA

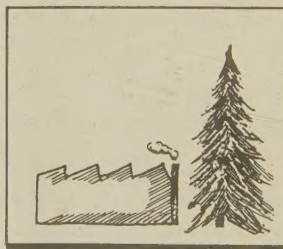
Washington seeks to in-
fluence the policy of
Delhi.

p. 23

OUTLAW WAR

Interview with Phoune Si-
paseuth, Vice-Chairman of
the Council of Ministers
and Minister of Foreign
Affairs of the Lao People's
Democratic Republic.

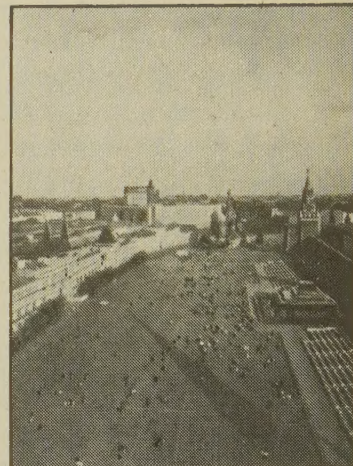
p. 11



THE GREEN TIDE

What the F.R.G. Green
Party proposes.

p. 20



The Red Square is the history
in stone of Russia, of the Soviet
Union. It is the parade ground
and the symbol of the country.

How many momentous events
have taken place here on this
piece of Russian soil where stand
St. Basil's Cathedral and the Krem-
lin walls, mute witnesses to days
of triumph and days of national
misfortune.

In the grim year of 1941 the
sons and daughters of the people
marched from here into battle
against fascism. And in victorious
1945 Soviet fighting men brought
here the battle standards of Hit-
ler's divisions and flung them at
the foot of the Lenin Mausoleum.

From Red Square resound calls
to peace and friendship among
the peoples of our planet. To
Red Square turn the thoughts of
all who seek an answer to the
burning issues of our time.

Behind the Kremlin walls stands
the building where the highest
body of state authority—the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—
functions. From here the people's
deputies direct the country's af-
fairs.

Photo by N. Rakhmanov

THE EDITOR'S PAGE
(1), MISCELLANY (5, 29),
PANORAMA (9), INTER-
VIEWS (11), CULTURE
AND POLITICS (28), TAK-
ING UP A POINT (30).

Editor-in-Chief: VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors: L. BEZYMENSKY, V. CHERNYAVSKY, S. GOLYAKOV, Y. GUDKOV,
A. LEBEDEV, A. PIN, B. PISHCHIK, A. PUMPYANSKY, V. TSOPPI

Design by A. GARANIN

Editor of English edition: E. SMIRNOV

DEBATE ON HUMANISM

Reflections on two speeches

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

What is the United Nations? A world school of eloquence, a talk shop? A diplomatic tilting ground where representatives of different schools of political thinking shoot polemical arrows at one another and exchange blows in conformity with, or perhaps in violation of, the established rules of polite behaviour? A show window for real or imaginary virtues of statesmanship? Discussions at General Assembly sessions do offer the cynical observer ample room for flights of fancy. But to confine oneself to such frivolous judgements would be absurd.

The value of U.N. discussions is great indeed. They not only spotlight one or another orator and the level of his thinking. Every speech might be likened to a flash autoportrait of policy of a state and its perception of the world. The different pictures are superimposed one upon the other and from their comparison and critical collision there emerges before the eyes of the world community a real panorama of mankind's troubles, problems and achievements. And this throws added light on the prejudices and distortions, witting and unwitting, stemming from narrow-mindedness, bias or striving for advantage.

This is a test of the realism of thinking, of the objectivity of policies. The most important criterion here is humanity: to what extent the policy of one or another state is free of national egoism and perceives the wider horizons, with the interest of all as the ideal. The character of the forum, and to an even greater extent the character of the time, makes the present debate on East River a severe test of the humanism of state policy.

Can There Be Cooperation with an "Adversary"?

Two speeches—one American, the other Soviet—marked the two opposite poles in the debate. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze spoke after President Ronald Reagan, which gave him an opportunity to reply in the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" spirit. But he did not take that opportunity. The polemic developed on a principled, if you wish, philosophical

level—on the priorities and the substance of the policy the world community needs today.

The President's speech was as dramatic and confrontational as usual. "The Soviets are still relentless adversaries," he said, true a day later, and not in the U.N., but in the White House. But the trend of his thoughts could not have changed in a day.

The President's search for the "adversary's" vulnerable spots, something of an acupuncture exercise, did not promise fresh moves and approaches. And indeed he obviously believed he was chalking up points on the "Daniloff affair," Afghanistan, and so on. He, of course, had no doubt that behind all the regional conflicts is "the Soviet Union's record of seeking to impose its ideology and rule on others."

The smiling President's predilection for macabre humour and outdated cold-war formulas was clearly dissonant with his promises "to work together [with the U.S.S.R.] for real reductions in nuclear arms as well as progress in other areas."

But how is it possible to cooperate with an "adversary," moreover, a "relentless" one? In his speech the President shifted from wrath to graciousness and back again, alternately brandishing poisoned arrows and waving an olive branch, which he seemed to pull out of the same quiver. But the basic question remained unanswered. Yet without this answer the deep-seated doubts as to the sincerity of the American avowals of readiness to cooperate remain undispelled.

The Soviet evaluation of international relations today contains that answer. And the Soviet Foreign Minister presented it eloquently and convincingly. He described the world as an "increasingly interconnected and indivisible entity." This world has now come to a turning point, to the point when "the very survival of the human race is at stake." And this being so, it is "essential to think in the new way, in conformity with the realities of the nuclear and space age."

"The time has come when group, bloc and ideological considerations are beginning to give way to the realization that peace is the supreme value," Shevardnadze said. And this makes it

clear why, on what basis and how countries divided by so many gulfs and barriers can and must work together. The universality of the threat impels them towards joint effort.

Trying to prove the most sensitive nerve in the present situation, the key link in the pernicious chain of developments, the President returned, for the nth time, to his favourite contention: "Nations mistrust each other not because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other." But why so? Both theses are correct. The dialectical mutual influence of mistrust and armament is a fact.

A world armed to the teeth is not the soil on which trust can thrive. Weapons, their production and proliferation influence politics, physically and fatally. The imprint of the military-industrial complex lobby is easy to discern in the domestic policy of the U.S., for instance.

The arms race is today the most sinister factor in world politics. It is said that it hastens the drift towards a third world war. But at times one cannot help asking the frightening question: Is not the arms race itself, considering its present dimensions and its present consequences, a sort of legalized form of that war?

It is high time to conclude an armistice! Disarmament is not only the political but also the economic imperative. It is this that underlies the Soviet position.

Disclosed Letter

Carried away by his high-pressure salesmanship tactics, the President made an unexpected and, in the opinion of many, a rather unseemly move. He disclosed the content of his July 25 letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, while strangely forgetting Gorbachev's letter of June 19. The correspondence of the two leaders relates to the search for opening for understandings on nuclear space weapons, an extremely sensitive and explosive subject and, in the opinion of both sides, of a confidential nature. Moreover, Reagan's July 25 letter has already been answered. Nevertheless, the President found it in place to reveal the American position,

which he naturally presented as a panacea for all ills.

But it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, as the saying goes. Now the U.S. position is plain for all to see.

Judging by the President's speech, the main elements of that position are the reduction of missiles (strategic and medium-range), the question of nuclear tests, and the "star wars" outlook.

According to the President, the U.S. "has long urged radical, equitable, verifiable reductions in these offensive systems." The formulation is perfectly acceptable. The question, however, is to what extent do the figures cited accord with this principle. There are doubts on this score. The President was being hardly objective when he attributed the danger hanging over humanity not to strategic missiles in general, but to the Soviet ICBMs. It is not excluded that what are termed "equitable" reductions will actually turn out to be inequitable, with heavier emphasis on Soviet land-based ICBMs. In any case, what is needed here are the exact figures, and to carefully calculate the balance between the different elements of the two countries' nuclear triads.

Nowhere is the contrast between the Soviet and American approaches so obvious as in the matter of terminating nuclear tests.

Tests are the subterranean tremors of the missile and nuclear weapons buildup. Silence on testing grounds indicates that a check has been placed on this buildup. It means that the existing arsenals will not be modernized but doomed to extinction. Besides, termination of testing can be easily and reliably verified. Incidentally, this is also to a great extent a confidence-building measure. It could serve as a touchstone of the sincerity of assurances of peaceful intentions.

It has become good form to avow distaste for nuclear weapons—these indiscriminate, totalitarian, end-of-the-world weapons. But are there not also those who only formally follow the vogue? The Soviet unilateral moratorium on tests confirms in practical terms that the U.S.S.R. really wants to exclude the nuclear factor from world politics, to end the nuclear age before it ends human history.

Washington replies with high-sounding assurances that "eliminating all nuclear weapons is our long-term goal." In actual reality that means that this will not happen either today or tomorrow, or in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, as the President put it, "we still must rely on these weapons." And the stakes are openly and shamelessly placed on an infernal force denounced by all humanity. It is a pity that a philosophical treatise entitled "Strangelove Society, or How the

West Loves the Bomb," has not yet been written.

"Star Wars" and Compromise in Reverse

Those who expected to find in the President's proposals some suggestion of a "great compromise" were not merely mistaken. To their surprise they discovered that the "great compromise" was the very reverse—an anti-compromise.

The substance of the speculations on this score could be summed up thus: the Americans are disquieted by the Russian missiles, while the Russians fear SDI. Hence an opening appears for exchanging the Russian missiles for the American "star wars." This is what the "great compromise" boils down to.

On closer examination, the American proposal relating to "star wars" is astoundingly absurd: since you, Russians, regard the Strategic Defence Initiative as harmful and dangerous, we Americans urge you to regard it as useful. No more, no less! As a big favour to Moscow, it is asked to sign an agreement which would cancel out the ABM

Treaty and give the Americans a free hand.

The Soviet Foreign Minister naturally criticized these military-space manoeuvres. The threat emanates from the carrying of the arms race into outer space. It is a delusion to assume that the new modernized military technology can reliably ensure security. "It is precisely this kind of 'philosophy,'" Eduard Shevardnadze said, "that has brought about this accumulation of armaments from year to year which today threatens to crush the Earth."

It is an amazing fact that the proponents of SDI fear to look into the future they themselves are preparing. Although already today one can imagine what it would be like if the computers were to take over the defence of humanity against the missile threat: a computer malfunction could set the "strategic defence" in action and automatically spark off a catastrophe.

In discussing the future, Shevardnadze highlighted the geopolitical aspect—the possible creation of "military-space vassaldom" when "two or three states with the status of space war powers would dominate the rest of the world." "We will continue to work to safe-



Bruce Genner, the famous American decathlete, an Olympic champion, carrying a peace torch through New York streets. Along with other well-known athletes of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia Genner is taking

part in a relay race dedicated to the International Year of Peace and to the fortieth anniversary of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF). Its motto is "Give the world a chance—children need peace." Athletes will carry the

torch forward in relays from country to country, from continent to continent. The eternal flame—symbol of the peoples' desire for peace—will be kindled from it at the U.N. headquarters on December 11.

Reuter—TASS photo

guard outer space against attempts to turn it into a military fief of one or two powers," the Soviet Foreign Minister said.

The debate on humanism assumed even a semantic character. The President was not pleased with the use in Soviet proposals of the word "humanitarian." It struck him as either too narrow or out of place. He seemed to think that "humanitarian" was a synonym for "charitable." He was wrong. "Humanitarian" also means "humane." The Webster unabridged dictionary actually cites as an example the phrase: "To use the A-bomb was wrong on humanitarian grounds." There can hardly be any talk of "charity" here, with all the strange love Western democracy has for this genocide weapon.

Faulkner Versus Reagan

There was a similar and even more serious contretemps, this time not with Webster, but with Faulkner. In order to impart a humane note to the President's rhetoric, the end of his speech featured two quotations from the renowned American writer. One was classical—a passage from his speech on accepting the Nobel Prize: "I decline to accept the end of man. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal ... because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

The second quotation the President put in his own words: "A great figure of the American South, William Faulkner, once said that the last sound heard on Earth would be that of the two remaining humans arguing over where to go in the spaceship they have built."

An oversimplification, to say the least.

Actually, the reference is not to a direct statement made by the writer, but the monologue of one of his characters—the cynical, wise old general in the novel "A Fable." The writer attached the utmost importance to this monologue. It is somewhat obscure, but let us study its message.

It is a monologue on the consequences of man's "deathless folly," "mechanical curiosity" and "the vice of war." Here it is:

"He [man] will try, of course, and for a little while he will even hold his own; he will build tanks bigger and faster and more impervious and with more firepower than any before, he will build aircraft bigger and faster and capable of more load and more destruction than any yet; for a little while he will accompany, direct, as he thinks control them, even after he has finally realized that it is not another frail and mortal dissident to his politics or his notions of national boundaries that he is contending with, but the very monster itself which he inhabits. ... So he will not

be able to go along with it at all, though for a little while longer it will permit him the harmless delusion that he controls it from the ground with buttons. Then that will be gone too. ...

"...He will crawl shivering out of his cooling burrow to crouch among the delicate stalks of his dead antennae like a fairy geometry, beneath a clangorous rain of dials and meters and switches and bloodless fragments of metal epidemics, to watch the final two of them engaged in the last gigantic wrestling against the final and dying sky robbed even of darkness and filled with the inflectionless uproar of the two mechanical voices bellowing at each other polysyllabic and verbless patriotic nonsense."

These, then, are the two voices that in Faulkner's novel argue on "the ultimate worthless tideless rock freezing slowly in the last red and heatless sunset."

The end of the monologue is devastating:

"'Man and his folly—' 'will endure,' the corporal said. 'They will go more,' the old general said proudly. 'They will prevail.'"

A monologue of the author and a monologue of his character. A credo and a self-parody on it. The thesis and the anti-thesis. Faith and doubt.

What if not the last act of the "star wars," to use present-day language, has the troubled imagination of the writer depicted for us? Military technology has escaped from under the control of man who created it for his own purposes, to satisfy his ambitions. Mankind has become the victim of technological idiosyncrasy.

Faulkner gave us a pitiless warning. Issued at the dawn of the nuclear age, it is more timely today than ever.

Humanism is not a matter of borrowed quotations. It is not merely words, it is deeds in the interests of mankind.

Shevardnadze's closing pronouncement struck an unusual and impressive note.

"The Earth stands before us embodied in our children and grandchildren, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, all those near and dear to us, who betoken for each of us the nation, our native land, all humanity.

"This is the only acceptable measure of things. And political telescopes should not be focussed as if the only thing of interest is whether there is life on Mars. We are all called upon to answer one question, equally important for everyone: will life continue on Earth?

"One would very much want to reply confidently: it will!"

Today the only policy that has the right to exist is a policy wedded to humanism. That policy alone holds out hope.

MISCELLANY

● An honorary doctorate from the Sorbonne has been conferred on Mustapha Tlass, Syria's Deputy Premier and Defence Minister, for his work on Marshal Georgi Zhukov.

"I have written about him," the Syrian military leader said in a *Der Spiegel* interview, "because World War II historians give all their attention to American, British and German generals, while Marshal Zhukov's strategic genius is still awaiting to receive its due."

● The number of Catholics throughout the world has diminished from 825 million to 639 million, with the earth's population exploding from 1,639 to 4,673 million, in under a century. "Proportionally," the Vatican paper *L'Osservatore Romano* points out, "the body of Catholics has dwindled to almost half over the period."

● Nearly 130 prisoners serving life sentences in Washington and Oregon state jails were experimented upon in the 1960s-1970s, says AP reporting a statement by an ex-warden. The human guinea pigs were exposed to strong X-ray doses as part of a Federal government-financed project to establish the effects of radiation on the human organism.

● Brazil is to orbit a satellite of its own, now being built with French assistance, some time between March and July 1989, a spokesman for the country's Institute for Space Research has announced.

● Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has dismissed A.N. Mudzingwa, Deputy Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, for indulging in drink and shirking his duties during the non-aligned conference.

MORATORIUM: ACTION AND ARGUMENTS

A Matter of Politics, Not Science

EVGENY VELIKHOV,
Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

When the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water was signed in Moscow in 1963, it omitted underground tests. This was not because the sides wanted to continue them, but because they could not agree on verification measures. Nevertheless, on the insistence of the Soviet side, the preamble to the Moscow treaty recorded the desire of the parties concerned to achieve a final halt on all nuclear tests and to continue negotiations towards that end. Twenty-three years have passed since then, and it has to be said that in this time all U.S. presidents, with the exception of the present one, have officially supported a comprehensive ban on all tests. But in doing so they have cited the prob-

lems of verification as the chief obstacle.

Today there exists a real historical opportunity to end all nuclear weapon tests immediately and definitively. Ending them would facilitate the achievement of a concrete objective—the prevention of the development of new destabilizing types of nuclear weapon—as the experience of preceding decades shows that the development and improvement of new nuclear weapons are the main sources of instability. What happened after the signing of the above treaty offers an example in point. Continuing underground tests made it possible to develop more compact and accurate weapons and multiple warheads, and there is a consensus among scientists,



Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov

experts and the military that this has undermined stability and increased the danger of still greater destabilization.

Judging from the tests the U.S. is currently carrying out on its proving ranges, the development of new weapon systems is proceeding in two directions.

First, there are the so-called third-generation nuclear weapons.

Second, there is the neutron bomb-type weapon geared to the concept of localized nuclear wars.

An end to nuclear tests would not only bring stability but would ensure

We Must Not Give Up!

THOMAS COCHRAN,
senior staff scientist, Natural Resources
Defence Council of the U.S.A.

I believe the extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests very useful and politically the right thing to do. As you perhaps know, the House of Representatives voted to end the financing of the nuclear test programme. It will now negotiate with the Senate with a view to making it an Act of Congress. Even if we do not succeed before January 1, I hope the Soviet Union will be able to extend its moratorium once

more. We are moving slowly to this goal, but of course it will take some time to achieve it.

The solution of the technical problems of verification is at hand. The equipment for both recording and analyzing seismic events is available. This equipment could verify observance of a treaty on a comprehensive test ban. We scientists have learned by our own experience that the political obstacles, too,

can be overcome. This is evidenced by the Soviet Union's willingness to permit American scientists to set up seismological monitoring equipment on Soviet territory. Now all that remains to be done is to resume the negotiations on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear testing and to decide how many seismological stations will need to be established around our two countries, and also to agree on the details: who will man these stations and how they will be run.

At the end of the 1970s talks were held on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear tests. Unfortunately, those talks were not resumed, because the Reagan Administration was not interested in such a ban. It is our belief that the United States should resume these negotiations, and since the technology is available and there is the

a smooth and secure transition from a nuclear to a non-nuclear world along the lines indicated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement of January 15, 1986. This is a vivid example of new thinking in the nuclear age. The Soviet leadership has come to the conclusion that the security of the U.S.S.R. can be ensured not by the further buildup of new types of nuclear weapon but, on the contrary, by the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the subsequent complete destruction of these weapons. This new thinking has found expression in the Soviet moratorium and its extension until January 1, 1987. The move is eloquent proof of the seriousness of the Soviet intention to make our world a safe home for man.

Stumbling Block

Among the many arguments the U.S. Administration has advanced in opposing a comprehensive test ban is that existing methods fail adequately to verify compliance with any such agreement.

This argument has now been unanimously rejected by the entire world geophysical community. The questions were discussed by a forum of scientists from 36 countries in Moscow last summer. It has been proved that all nuclear explosions essential to weapon development, including those with a yield of several kilotons, can be reliably monitored by national means.

political will—at least the political will of the Soviet Union—a comprehensive test ban should be achieved.

We will soon be receiving our Soviet opposite numbers from the Institute of Physics of the Earth. They will take part in sessions of the consultative committee of our organization, which includes some leading American seismologists. We shall study a joint project and also other research programmes in which we could cooperate with Soviet scientists. They will visit several places in the states of Nevada and California to see if three seismic monitoring stations around the testing sites in Nevada could be set up there. The Soviet delegation will also visit the institute where the American seismologists who went to the Soviet Union work. This institute may possibly become the base for our joint research in the U.S. Later we will

Experiments show that a seismic system deployed in Norway can detect nuclear explosions with a yield of hundreds of tons deep inside the Soviet Union. In an experiment held in the U.S., a 5-ton explosion was detected at a distance of 725 kilometres from the Kirkland test site where it took place.

The overall conclusion of the Moscow forum of scientists was that geophysical methods today make it fully possible to verify compliance with a comprehensive nuclear test ban. A concrete example is the above-mentioned powerful seismic station in Norway (NORSAR) which took measurements in conditions of high seismic activity by analyzing the signal over a wide band of frequencies, including very high frequency. As a result, the signal from a very small explosion could be identified against a seismic background. According to many scientists, the best monitoring equipment in the world is NORES, part of the NORSAR system,



Soviet and American seismologists setting up their equipment near Semipalatinsk.

Photo by I. Mikhalev

all go to Dallas, Texas, where the seismological equipment to be installed in 30-metre silos in both countries is being assembled.

We are satisfied with the results of the work done by our scientists in the Soviet Union. They have already assembled their equipment in two places and have chosen the site for a third sta-

also deployed in Norway. The United States, too, possesses powerful seismographic instruments. The Soviet Union and other countries also have their systems. Among these countries are the Delhi Six which have said they are ready to cooperate in international monitoring of compliance with a comprehensive test ban. In short, there is a reliable network of seismic stations capable of the most effective verification.

As early as the 1960s, when the draft treaty banning nuclear tests was discussed, the United States put forward the thesis that nuclear tests could in principle be concealed by creating a large underground cavern for tests. However, today, with the use of high-frequency monitoring methods, such an attempt would fail. The transition to higher frequencies in the 30-40-hertz range makes it possible to register explosions held in such caverns. Furthermore, the past 20 years have seen marked advances in the space surveillance system. The creation of such a huge cavern, involving work comparable to the building of an Egyptian pyramid, could certainly be detected from outer space. The combination of seismic methods with observation from space would be ample to ensure compliance with a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

To ensure further advance in this direction and resolve a series of other issues connected with verification and

tion. Of course, there are certain problems both in the Soviet Union and in the United States. Sometimes the preparation and placing of the equipment takes more time than we expected. However, we have no substantial problems, and the project is moving along well.

I think we will get a mutual moratorium. I do not know if we will get it by January 1, but it is coming. And the biggest mistake we could make would be to give up when we have made such important progress today. We should stand fast and continue to work towards a moratorium on testing as a step towards a comprehensive test ban.

**Recorded for New Times
by TASS correspondent V. KIKILO**

New York

MORATORIUM: ACTION AND ARGUMENTS

Involving geographical information, Soviet scientists have discussed a proposal made by American scientists from the Natural Resources Defence Council to conduct joint geophysical research on Soviet territory close to the Semipalatinsk testing site and in Nevada, U.S.A. They have asked the Soviet and U.S. governments for permission to hold such experiments. The Soviet government has acceded to this request.

Early positive results have already been obtained with the help of seismographs installed near Semipalatinsk. This would seem to have put paid to all arguments that a test ban is unverifiable. However, the American side has promptly come up with new ones. It has suggested, for example, that very small charges could be tested in deep space outside the solar system. Specious arguments.

In general, American objections to stopping nuclear tests are extremely contradictory. They merely highlight the weakness of the Reagan Administration's position in seeking to justify its policy in the eyes of world public opinion, which strongly favours an end to all nuclear tests.

Unjustified Objections

Washington is trying to replace the question of verification of a nuclear test ban with the problem of verification of the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests (which are not to exceed the 150-kiloton threshold). But accurate measurement of the size of an explosion is one thing and verifying that no nuclear tests are being carried out is another. The latter is undoubtedly much easier than checking compliance with the threshold.

American officials declare that they need tests to ensure the security of the United States, by which they mean the implementation of the SDI programme (involving tests in the neighbourhood of 150 kilotons to develop a new-generation weapon).

To judge from speeches by the

President and the Administration spokesmen, they are trying to combine incompatibles. On the one hand, they argue that the Strategic Defence Initiative is aimed at creating defensive means that would render nuclear weapons unnecessary and obsolete. On the other, they are testing just such nuclear systems, notably the X-ray laser, for the components of a space-based anti-missile defence. The argument advanced to justify this approach is absurd: the United States wants to see what the Soviet Union can achieve by creating and testing such weapons.

Meanwhile there is a very simple way to solve the problem, and that is to accede immediately to the moratorium. After that all nuclear tests in the Soviet Union and the United States would stop and third-generation weapons would never see the light of day.

Another argument is that nuclear tests are necessary because this is the only way the U.S. can guarantee the reliability and life cycle of its present nuclear weapons. Incidentally, when this question was put to Dr Glenn Seaborg, former chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, who took part in the drafting of the Moscow treaty, he said that in the 1960s and early 1970s, when he had access to all classified information, U.S. nuclear weapons were designed in such a way as to make it possible to check their reliability and usability not by nuclear tests but by other control methods which scientists already had at their disposal at the time.

But if the U.S. could control the reliability of its nuclear weapons without resorting to tests twenty years ago, what is preventing it from doing so today? Incidentally, the bulk of nuclear arsenals is not to be tested as they exceed the 150-kiloton threshold. Statistics show that while it takes dozens of tests to develop a weapon, only a few are needed to check existing ones.

Moreover, it is clear that the Soviet Union is as interested as the U.S. in keeping its weapons in reliable shape. And if one side is ready for a test ban this is proof that tests are not necessary, at least where checking the combat readiness of weapons is concerned.

Thus, all the objective facts inexorably lead to the sole logical and valid conclusion, namely, that the Americans only need nuclear tests to develop modern nuclear weapons, and offensive, first-strike weapons at that. No arguments, or rather excuses, on the part of Washington can refute or obscure this. The world public, authoritative scientists and competent specialists welcome the bold and responsible decision of the Soviet Union to extend its moratorium and urge the United States to join it. Let me remind you that an overwhelming majority of the states that signed the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in 1968 are now calling for an end to all tests in accordance with the commitments implicit in the text of the treaty, as well as in the 1963 Moscow treaty and the 1974 treaty on threshold tests.

All this shows that a total end to all nuclear tests is a political issue. As Mikhail Gorbachev said in his interview to the newspaper *Rude Pravo*, "the attitude to the termination of nuclear tests, to the early elaboration of a treaty on their full prohibition has now become the most reliable touchstone of how seriously each of the greatest nuclear powers treats disarmament, international security and the cause of peace."

There are sufficient ways and means to verify compliance with a treaty with the U.S. banning nuclear tests. It is not a matter of technology. It is constantly being improved, and verification methods, too, may continue to improve after the agreement is signed. It is entirely a question of political will, and the international community expects Washington to offer concrete evidence of such will at this extremely difficult juncture in history.



For a Safer Atom

● IAEA

Important international conventions have been adopted in Vienna on prompt notification of, and on rendering aid in, nuclear accidents.

As soon as a Moscow-Vienna sleeping car crossed the Austrian border, "experts" would come on board and start putting their Geiger counters on everything in sight. All Soviet ships—passenger liners, barges, and the cargoes they carried—were "checked" in the same way. No trace of radioactivity was ever detected.

When Hans Blix, the IAEA Director-General, was in the U.S.S.R. on May 5-9, the Soviet side voiced its readiness to submit full information on the Chernobyl accident for discussion at an IAEA conference of experts on problems of nuclear security. Such a conference of technical experts from the IAEA member countries was held in Vienna last August. The Soviet delegation, led by Academician Valery Legasov, submitted two bulky volumes of detailed information on the causes of the Chernobyl accident and the efforts being made to remedy its consequences. At the same time, attention was called to the Soviet proposal to work out international legal provisions for the safety of nuclear power-plant operation. The conference of experts discussed the two draft conventions and recommended them for official endorsement.

The IAEA General Conference met in a special session on September 24-26. Discussion centred on measures to

consolidate international cooperation in the sphere of nuclear safety and radiation protection.

Representatives from the IAEA member states noted the Soviet delegation's substantial contribution to the success of the General Conference and the exhaustiveness of the information furnished by the Soviet Union. Incidentally, not all owners of atomic power plants are as frank.

Over 150 nuclear accidents involving radioactive releases have been registered worldwide to date with radioactivity spreading across state borders on several occasions. At the same time, it was reaffirmed that the radioactivity transfer from Chernobyl to the West had been insignificant. Said Friedrich Zimmermann, F.R.G. Minister of the Interior: "There has never been any danger to us, nor does such danger exist now." Finland's ambassador to the U.N. declared: "At no stage after the Chernobyl accident did the radiation level measured in Finland rise to an extent that necessitated any special measures to protect the population."

The Vienna conference welcomed the Soviet programme

A protective wall nearing completion around power generating unit No. 4 of the Chernobyl atomic power plant.

TASS photo

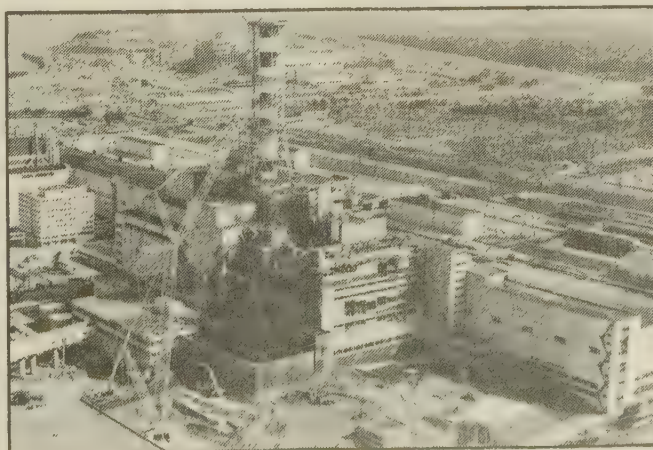
of international provisions for the safe development of the nuclear power industry. These provisions were set out by Soviet Deputy Premier Boris Shcherbina, head of the Soviet delegation. The Soviet proposals included all the major ideas found in the two conventions under discussion—and went even further.

The Soviet Union suggested, in particular, that all nuclear accidents involving the danger of trans-border radiation spread be reported; that an international bank of data on radiation background levels in various parts of the globe be set up; that a reliable system of measures be worked out to prevent attacks on nuclear power plants, and this would include attacks by terrorists.

The special session of the IAEA General Conference adopted the coordinated conventions to the applause of delegates and announced them open to signing. The heads of the delegations from the Soviet Union, the U.S., the F.R.G., the G.D.R. and the People's Republic of China were the first to sign them. Altogether, representatives from 46 states signed both conventions—on notification and on mutual aid in cases of nuclear accidents—on the first day; the rest postponed the signing for various reasons, chiefly because they did not have appropriate instructions from their governments.

V. MIKHEYEV

Vienna



Fruitful Visit

● OUR COMMENT

The visit to the Soviet Union of President Didier Ratsiraka of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar (D.R.M.) late in September ended with the signing of a number of important documents: a declaration on the principles of friendly mutual relations and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the D.R.M.; a plan for promoting links between the CPSU and the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution Party; a long-term programme of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation for 1986-2000. Didier Ratsiraka had friendly businesslike meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev, Andrei Gromyko and other Soviet leaders.

The Malagasy people are now transforming their society along progressive lines to put an end to backwardness and poverty. Banks, insurance companies and firms engaged in the production and distribution of electric energy and petroleum products have been nationalized. The state has the controlling interest in other enterprises as well. The task for the next five-year period is to make the country self-sufficient in food. Cooperatives are to play an important role in solving this problem; the people of Madagascar intend to draw upon Soviet experience in setting them up. The Belarus tractors which have appeared in the fields of Madagascar are among the symbols of its cooperation with the Soviet Union in agriculture.

During President Ratsiraka's visit, the Soviet-Malagasy intergovernment commission for economic and technical cooperation and trade met in the U.S.S.R. to discuss possibilities of further progress in these areas.

B. PILNIKOV

Death in a Gold Mine

● HUMAN RIGHTS

The Kinross gold mine disaster in Transvaal, South Africa, on September 16 touched off a wave of unrest among local miners. It was one of the worst accidents ever in South Africa's mining history, killing 177, with 14 more still unaccounted for. A rescue team managed to evacuate 2,200 survivors of whom



Transvaal's African miners are determined to carry on their fight.

Photo from Business Week (U.S.)

2,000 had to be treated for physical injuries, serious burns and breathing difficulties.

The company management of the Gencor Mining Group which owns the mine claimed that the accident was caused by a gas cylinder exploding in a gallery 1,600 m underground in the course of a welding job. Flames spread over the polyurethane film that lined the main tunnel to prevent corrosion and water seepage. Plastic tubes and shaft cables also caught fire. Panic-stricken and screaming with pain, mine workers stampeded to the elevator cages—which were also enveloped in flames....

The company managers say nothing would have happened if the welder had had a fire extinguisher to hand, but there was none. As a result, their version goes, the mine was

guttled. This account was intended to create the impression that the disaster was an isolated incident rather than being typical of South Africa. According to the Johannesburg paper the Star, ore mining accidents in South Africa killed more than 8,000 and maimed over 230,000 in 1973-83.

The leaders of the National Union of Miners (NUM) attribute the accidents chiefly to the coal and gold mineowners' disregard for safety provisions.

Some accidents are no doubt caused by fatigue: miners work in extremely difficult conditions, over 1,500 metres underground, in sweltering heat of up to +40°C, for nine hours a day with just one day off a week. Confined to company settlements, they are allowed to visit their families in the bantustan reservations only once a year. Black miners' wages come to a mere quarter of those of whites.

Miners held a Day of Remembrance on October 1 at the call of the NUM. Hundreds of thousands of them stayed away from work on that day. At their meetings the miners condemned the apartheid system.

N. RESHETNYAK

Brno Prestige

● OUR REPORT

The 28th International Engineering Fair came to an end in Brno, Czechoslovakia, on September 24. The fair drew participants from 76 countries and brought 48 billion Czechoslovak crowns' worth of contracts. Competition for display space and orders was tough: neither the fair's sponsors, nor prospective buyers would settle for less than the very latest in technology.

This was the first Brno Fair to emphasize industrial uses of electronics. Therefore it combined business transactions with scientific and technical discussions: while offering his customers what they need today, a seller must anticipate their future demands. At special symposiums and seminars, scientists and engineers who had come to Brno from various countries, examined current trends in scientific and technological progress and tried to peer into the future.

"This specialized fair has afforded us a close look at the present situation in the sphere of 'mechanical engineering worldwide,'" Dr Jan Stolar of Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade told us. "I think it's worth considering ways of making still better use of all the fairs held in socialist countries as a means of coordinating our trade and technological policies."

Finland's Rauma-Repola company specializes in forest industry machinery and equipment. Kauko Papunen of the company's export department told us:

"We come to Brno from year to year, and sign mutually profitable contracts each time. The fair gives us an idea of the progress our sphere of specialization has made to date, of the present market situation, alerts us to our weaker points and suggests what we should concentrate on. At the Brno Fair we succeeded in reaching agreement with our Soviet partners on the joint production of several machines. In short, the fair helps Rauma-Repola to do well." Well, it's only too obvious that a good businessman seeks to retain profitable trade links.

The Brno Fair owes its prestige to the reputation of the socialist countries' machine manufacturers who, this time, too, have made the grade.

B. PISHCHIK and
L. MLECHIN

our special correspondents
Brno

"Memory Transplant"

● RIPOSTE

The seeds of this tragedy were sown when the samurai sword lopped vast areas off northeastern China. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese settlers were given the best land and most profitable factories and shops confiscated from the Chinese. In 1945, some of the settlers fled with the Kwantung army leaving their most valuable possessions, and even their children sometimes, behind in the confusion. A few years ago those of the children who had been raised by the merciful Chinese went to Japan in search of their parents and relatives.

As they described their misadventures, the first visitors stressed that no Japanese ought ever to invade other countries as a soldier or armed settler. Ill-wishers "warned" of a massive infiltration of "communist spies" posing as "orphans."

Lately the "orphans" have once again been the focus of attention, but it has taken an unexpected form. As if at a word of command, newsmen attacked a group of "orphans" on their way back to China. Interrupting one another, they asked whether the group members remembered Russian tanks crushing defenceless women and children in their hundreds. Magically, some of the "orphans"—who were two or three years old in 1945—revealed phenomenal powers of memory as they described in lurid detail the hair-raising "brutalities" the Russians had committed.

These "memory transplant" experiments are by no means innocent. People without roots in their home country are being used for the unseemly purpose of stirring up hatred for the U.S.S.R.

our own correspondent
Tokyo

Phoune Sipaseuth:

Outlaw War

PHOUNE SIPASEUTH, a Politburo member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, has answered questions from *New Times*.



Q. How do you assess the peace programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok with regard to the future of the Asian-Pacific region?

A. I find his statement extremely opportune; it meets the vital needs of the Asian-Pacific region. The nations of that part of the world want to live in peace as good neighbours, and cooperate on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, regardless of which socio-political system they belong to.

We are all witnessing growing interest in the region on the part of world imperialism. Attempts are being made to impose the so-called Pacific Community on its peoples under the seductive pretext of assisting their economic development. The real aim of this organization is to serve as an instrument of military leadership in the region on behalf of the more aggressive imperialist circles in their military confrontation with the socialist, independent and peace-loving countries in the Asian-Pacific region. This imperialistic activity, committed to the policy of neoglobalism, tends to make the situation in the Pacific basin increasingly tense, complex and difficult.

There is eloquent and alarming evidence to prove this: attempts are being made to impose in various forms treaties and alliances on some countries; armaments are being built up despite the fact that the military bases in the

Pacific are already saturated with arms, and some of them have combat-ready modern weapons, nuclear included. Moreover, military strategists are contemplating the use of nuclear weapons under the specious pretext of "protecting national security." Where is the guarantee that they will not be used, as in 1945 when the civilian population of two Japanese cities was subjected to devastating atomic bombings? All this makes the struggle for peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region and the world the urgent and overriding task of progressive and peace-loving people everywhere.

The Soviet Union is a Pacific power and it is therefore understandable that it is not indifferent to the affairs and concerns of the region, for it has the legitimate right to uphold—and not from a selfish point of view—not only its own peaceful future but also that of all the peoples that live there.

There is ample proof of the dynamism of Soviet foreign policy. On April 23, 1986, the U.S.S.R. issued a statement on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, and three months later, on July 28, 1986, it put forward a new concrete initiative. This shows that the Soviet Union is making tremendous efforts in the search for a way to genuinely durable peace in the Asian-Pacific region and the world at large.

Soviet good will and the desire to defuse the situation in the Asian-Pacific

region manifest themselves in concrete ways. These include the programme to withdraw six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan, and the Moscow-Ulan Bator consultations on the withdrawal of part of the Soviet contingent from Mongolia. In our contemporary, indivisible world people are increasingly aware of the fact that we can only survive as good neighbours and that it is only together that we can tackle the problem that is common to us all—that of living in dignity and security. This is the purpose of the proposed Helsinki-style international conference of the Asian-Pacific countries.

The blueprint for a complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of the 20th century, put forward by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986, is an example to be emulated. Another is the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests proclaimed by the Soviet Union. The moratorium has been extended more than once and is in its second year. Under the latest extension, silence on Soviet nuclear test sites will last until January 1 next year. All these are practical steps, concrete manifestations of the good will of the U.S.S.R. and its commitment to save the Earth from a nuclear catastrophe.

Its active and vigorous peace strategy has earned the Soviet Union respect and international authority, and it enjoys the most widespread support among the peoples of the planet. Socialist Laos is part of the Asian-Pacific region. Our people, like the other peoples of Indo-China, have been victims of brutal aggression launched by imperialism, and our knowledge of the horrors of war has not come to us at second hand. We believe that peace is the summit of mankind's aspiration. But that summit must be scaled. Together with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, as well as the peace movement worldwide, we oppose the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialism and declare for peace and international security. That is why the government and people of Laos fully appreciate and support the Soviet peace programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, a programme aimed at making the Asian-Pacific region peaceful, stable and free of nuclear weapons.

Q. How in your view can peace and security in the region be achieved?

A. The peoples of Asia and the Pacific basin have been frequent targets of imperialist aggression. The most cruel of these was the war unleashed against the three countries of Indo-China which

lasted several decades. The grim war years are behind us, but can we say that lasting peace has arrived?

No. Peace is seriously threatened by the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialism and international reaction, who have made the Asian-Pacific region one of the most explosive on our planet. This is being countered by an unprecedented movement for peace, national liberation and social progress. Peace and peaceful coexistence have become the greatest imperatives of our time and no one can stop that trend. It has created favourable new conditions for broader international cooperation based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

My country has inherited a grim legacy: colonial oppression followed by many years of aggressive war unleashed by imperialism created bottlenecks of complexity and difficulty in the economic, social, cultural and other fields. Our people need peace in order to devote themselves entirely to the defence and development of our homeland and contribute as much as they can towards stronger and wider cooperation between nations.

Despite differences between countries in their approach to political problems, the common desire for peace, security and cooperation provides a sound platform for joint action. The goals that unite us can be achieved. Many steps have already been taken in this direction, among them Comrade Gorbachev's Vladivostok statement on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, the constructive proposals of the three countries of Indo-China aimed at turning Southeast Asia into a zone of stable peace and cooperation, the Mongolian proposal for a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the Asian and Pacific countries, India's proposal on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on making the Korean peninsula a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons, the proposal of thirteen countries in Oceania on making the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, and Indonesia's proposal on making Southeast Asia a nuclear-free zone. Taken together, these provide an excellent blueprint for action in the name of universal peace. The time has come to settle all problems through negotiations. It is time to impose a definitive embargo on wars and military confrontation. It is more than time to develop a new way of political thinking and accept peaceful coexistence and equal and mutually beneficial cooperation as an unchallengeable reality in this nuclear-missile age. This alone can guarantee strong and enduring peace on the whole planet and, indeed, the survival of mankind itself.

Aggression Again?

The trend is the same as in May-June 1982

Again the nightmare as in May-June 1982. In the afternoon, when the sun was shining in the eyes of anti-aircraft gunners, Israeli F-16s again swooped down on Lebanon's coastal cities and villages from the Mediterranean like black darts, with only decoy flares tracing their paths through the clear blue skies. On the ground the missiles burst to throw up clouds of dust, setting many buildings on fire. To the heart-rending screaming of sirens, ambulances and fire brigades raced to the spot.

How often I have seen this nightmare repeated in my eight years as correspondent in Beirut! The raids at the close of May and the start of June 1982 were particularly fierce. At the time news agencies reported that Tel Aviv was moving up tanks and heavy artillery to the Lebanese border, that Israel was mobilizing its reservists, that a little earlier Israeli top leaders had, in Washington, received the go-ahead to invade Lebanon. Though Tel Aviv "categorically" denied all that, shortly afterwards Beirut, Saida, Tyre and Nabatiye were shelled and bombed and simultaneously aggressive hordes penetrated deep into Lebanon. Such was the start of Israel's massive aggression against this long-suffering country.

This was followed by the three-month-long siege of gallantly defended Beirut. When a political settlement caused its defending forces to leave, the aggressors perfidiously thrust into the city. I saw Israeli tanks in the streets, and Israeli soldiers picking their way through the ruins. Israeli military intelligence squads burst into the house where I was living in search of "suspects." Some of my neighbours, refugees from southern Lebanon, were hustled out and herded away in front of an armoured carrier sporting an orange cloth as the identification sign of Israel's armoured forces.

What I have just described took place four years ago. I now have before me a batch of new pictures that show Saida in flames after an Israeli air raid, smoking ruins on the outskirts of Beirut, Israeli armoured carriers in those parts of southern

Lebanon considered the zone of the U.N. interim force (stationed in Lebanon in 1978 in line with the Security Council resolution) and troop trucks crossing the border and moving into the depths of the country.

I could not help recalling what had occurred on the eve of the June 1982 invasion. The Israeli news media had threatened the "Palestinian terrorists" supposedly menacing Israel's northern borders. Late last month *Le Figaro* of Paris reported the many pronouncements in the Israeli press about a possible raid against "the Shiite forces, to occur after Prime Minister Peres returns from New York," against forces that "represent a tangible threat to Israeli mercenaries in southern Lebanon." One is reminded of Washington's go-ahead to Tel Aviv in 1982.

In 1982 the pretext for invasion was the "need" to repulse "the Palestinian terrorists." In 1986 the pretext is "Shiite terrorists." Here one should note the "Attack from Cyprus" article in the Cypriot newspaper *Apogevmatini*, which claims that U.S. troops have come in from Turkey and the F.R.G. to Akrotiri and other British bases on the island. "It is quite likely that Lebanon will be jointly attacked by the military forces massed at Akrotiri and U.S. naval forces in the Mediterranean near Cyprus," the paper warns.

Meanwhile the Knesset mouths endless threats against the "Shiite terrorists." Again reservists are being called up, as was the case prior to the 1982 aggression. Hundreds of tanks and armoured carriers are being concentrated in the so-called "security zone," a broad strip along the Israeli-Lebanese border, which Israel and its Lebanese hirelings have occupied and from which journalists are barred. Israeli aircraft keep striking at Saida, southern Lebanon's effective capital and stronghold of the Lebanese national-patriotic forces.

Exactly a year ago I found myself in southern Lebanon next door to the "security zone," where I met men and officers of the armed formations of the South Lebanese patriots. They included not only Shiites, but also Sun-

nites and Christians. Of course, not all was plain sailing in relations between, for example, the Shiite Amal and Hezbollah (Party of Allah) organizations (the latter, according to Western news media, is "Iranian influenced"). But a prominent leader of South Lebanese Shiites told me at the time that the most important thing for all living in southern Lebanon was not internal differences but the struggle against the occupation forces.

According to reports coming in from southern Lebanon, this struggle has gathered particular momentum in the past few weeks. As a result of patriotic strikes against the so-called Army of South Lebanon, this grouping, despite Israeli backing, is on the point of collapse. No wonder Israeli Defence Minister Rabin has threatened "sensitive retaliation" against the South Lebanese patriots.

When Peres met U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Washington recently, the latter, extolling the Israeli Premier's "peacemaking," claimed that Israel had already ended the war in Lebanon. A little earlier Peres and Egyptian President Mubarak, meeting in Alexandria, agreed to normalize bilateral relations which the Egyptians had "cooled" after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. This "normalization" can now be interpreted as the Egyptian withdrawal of the earlier demand for an end to Israeli aggression against Lebanon. (Several days after the Alexandria summit, Egypt signed an agreement with the U.S. whereby it is to receive \$649 million worth of American aid.)

Whatever they might say in Washington, Tel Aviv or Alexandria, Israel is far from having ended the war in Lebanon. On the contrary, it is becoming increasingly involved. Provocations by Israeli troops in southern Lebanon have already exacerbated relations between Israel and France, which has a large contingent in the U.N. interim force in southern Lebanon. In line with the Security Council resolution, this force was introduced to be deployed along southern Lebanon's border with Israel. However, Tel Aviv forcibly obstructed this. Now Israel's rulers are doing all they can to get the blue helmets to leave Lebanon, as the U.N. force, however ineffective, nevertheless does interfere to some

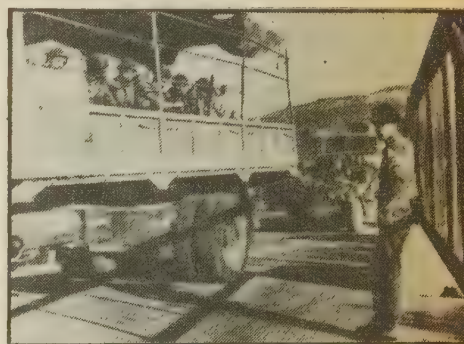
degree with the Israeli occupation forces and their hirelings in carrying on with their arbitrary rule.

Small wonder that the blue helmets are being increasingly victimized by provocations engineered by Israeli agents, provocations that Tel Aviv exploits to poison the world public against the "Shiite terrorists," as it has done with respect to the "Palestinian terrorists," to have its hands free in Lebanon. When the Hezbollah organization was accused of attacking the U.N. force, it was obliged to issue a statement declaring: "The accusations levelled against us of attacking the international force are part of that aggressive plan which is being prepared to strike at the growing Islamic movement and foment strife amongst Muslims. Everyone must realize that though we do not welcome this force in our country, we are preoccupied with our resistance to Israel and its hirelings and will not allow anything to distract us from this effort."

The provocations engineered by Israel and its agents were likewise condemned in the Security Council, which late last month approved a French draft resolution calling for an Israeli troop pullout from southern Lebanon. Note that Vernon Walters, the U.S. representative at the U.N., sought on the eve of the vote to pressurize the French delegation into "modifying the over-severe text" of its draft resolution. The U.S. abstained from voting.

Naturally, this chain of events does not suit Tel Aviv. Israeli rulers are obviously itching to finish with the "Lebanese story" once and for all in keeping with their long-term designs for expansion. They seek with fire and sword to crush the South Lebanese resistance movement, transform all of southern Lebanon into an occupied zone, then into a protectorate and subsequently annex it. Tel Aviv believes it is now opportune to start implementing these designs, inasmuch as Egypt has been "put out of the game," as was the case in 1982, and as, on the pretext of combating "international terrorism," the imperialist propaganda machine has mounted a hysterical campaign of unprecedented proportions against Lebanon, Syria and Libya. Finally, it appears to be time to interfere with a view to frustrating yet again the

renewed process of normalizing the domestic political situation within Lebanon. It is, after all, significant that the Beirut government is currently discussing ways and means of eliminating the root causes of the internal political crisis, and that there are politicians at the negotiating table who only recently did not want even to hear of any revision of, for instance, the so-called "national pact" which, when the Lebanese Republic came into existence, laid down as the basis of its state structure the principle of confessionalism, calling for the allocation of posts in the government in line with religious representation. The Lebanese are tired of the protracted civil war which Tel Aviv and Washington are exploiting to interfere in Middle East affairs. However, each time tangible hopes



The situation in southern Lebanon remains tense. Hundreds of Israeli tanks and armoured carriers, infantry units and special punitive details have been brought into the so-called "security zone" set up by Tel Aviv on Lebanese territory. Above: Israeli troops entering southern Lebanon.

Reuter—TASS photo

emerge of at last terminating the domestic conflict, the situation is again inflamed. How this is done is well known. Israeli agents provoke conflicts between the country's opposing forces; meanwhile Israeli armed forces escalate terror and violence in southern Lebanon, threatening another large-scale invasion.

This is precisely what is happening now. Today the threat of fresh aggression is more real than ever. No wonder Syrian President Hafez Assad was obliged to announce that his country would "most resolutely retaliate" were Israel to undertake another military venture in Lebanon.

E. KORSHUNOV

"LET EVERYONE DO HIS BIT..."

"Make our cities and villages more beautiful" is the slogan of a popular movement in the G.D.R. launched to enlist the population in improving housing and to harness popular initiative for the solution of this important social problem.



On a recent trip to the G.D.R. I saw a new town, Halle-Neustadt, built for the employees of the giant chemical plants Leuna and Buna.

The town is impressive with its immaculately clean streets, trim lawns, elegant façades and bright frescoes and mosaics on house walls.

"The town fathers must be energetic and caring people," I told my companion Günter Rost, an interpreter with the Halle-Neustadt branch of Intertext.

"The municipal authorities are certainly energetic," he agreed. "But they have had virtually nothing to do with all this. What you seem to admire so much has been done by the people on their own. The municipal council has its hands full as it is with housing and communal development projects, culture, education, trade, urban and interurban transport, recreation and so on. So it is up to the people themselves to plant parks and gardens, improve residential areas and keep the town clean. The division of labour as we see it, one might say!"

The Town and the People

Tens of thousands of people work voluntarily to give the town a distinctive atmosphere and make it more attractive in every way—working in their free time, of course. Almost the entire population come out into the streets to give a hand during the spring and autumn cleanups. House fronts are given a facelift, roofs repaired, and window frames painted simultaneously so that there is nothing to detract from the general picture of tidiness.

"Do the people meet the costs out of their own pockets too?" I asked Rost.

"By no means. The municipal council gives us the tools, paint and building materials—but the job is done by the people. Small wonder that they take pride in their apartment blocks, streets and districts, and are trying to improve

the town in every way. Town improvement is for us synonymous with the people's active involvement in every sphere of public life..."

Halle-Neustadt has popular clubs and cafés which are run by the patrons themselves. In youth clubs it is young people who elect councils to draw up interesting programmes for entertainments and debates, organize discotheques and maintain order. Not a single youth club has run down because of the indifference of its members. The elderly also have special interests—in their own clubs.

Participation in the movement to improve one's town is not confined to the creation of new material values or the preservation of old ones. The activists in the movement are convinced that what is far more important is human communication, which fosters the sense of collectivism and responsibility to society for one's attitude to the world around.

Halle-Neustadt and everything I saw in it impressed me deeply. But then I thought that this, perhaps, was possible only in a young community, dominated by young people brimming with energy and initiative.

Yet after I had seen other parts of the republic I realized that it was a truly broad-based movement, a part of life in the G.D.R. Once a person realizes that he or she is the master of public property, there is no indifference towards shortcomings and people stop looking only to the state, waiting for it to resolve their everyday problems. There is a growing interest in preserving and augmenting the public weal, especially housing.

Change

A two-pronged housing programme has been adopted in the G.D.R. The aim is to build new housing and to redesign, modernize and maintain the

existing housing stock. The last year of the previous five-year-plan period confirmed the rightness of this approach: about 119,000 new and more than 90,000 modernized flats were turned over for tenancy. This means that another 630,000 people had their housing conditions improved. Today the republic has 400-odd flats per 1,000 of the population and the average floor space per resident is 26 square metres.

Housing construction has essentially changed too. New construction projects are being started on vacant lots or the sites of demolished buildings and as a result nearly half the new housing in Berlin and Dresden, for instance, is situated in the central districts of the city. The housing problem in the country as a whole is being tackled in this way, which helps preserve farmland and forests and appreciably reduce building costs through better use of underground communications and transport facilities. (Places of historical interest, of course, are spared.) This approach has influenced the character of housing construction as well, with emphasis shifted from new construction to modernization of the existing housing stock and protection of architectural monuments. Old districts are being reconstructed according to plan and with due regard for the interests of residents. Communal facilities, crèches, youth recreational centres and outpatient clinics are being built wherever needed. Several urban districts, once run down, have been restored in this way in Berlin and hundreds of other cities.

A method was recently introduced in Berlin to modernize kitchens and bathrooms in old five-storey apartment houses, complete with the replacement of all supply lines, in ten days. It now takes three months to repair and mod-

ernize such a building from start to finish.

Young people willingly move into flats in modernized residential areas.

Town Dwellers Move into the Country

On the road to Berlin lies the large village of Golzow, which is famous throughout the republic for its cooperative. It has well cared-for spacious homes, each with a garden in front of it, a cosy café, a recreation centre,

can go shopping in the city. And, paradoxical as it may seem, now that urban civilization is within reach, young people appreciate the attractions of the countryside even more!"

People from the city today apply for membership of the cooperative and there is nothing strange about it: the time is long past when the cooperative was preoccupied with production targets and wages to the exclusion of all else, such as community improvement. Now things are different and people do not only look after streets and homesteads, but also the environment.



Modernizing buildings in downtown Leipzig.

ADN photo

a food shop and a department store, and smooth asphalt roads intersect the highway which cuts through it.

The cooperative chairman Arthur Klitzke, looking younger than his 60 years, took us round his large farm.

"We would not have achieved half of what we did in these marshlands without land improvement and good roads. The state helped us a great deal with land improvement but the roads linking our village to the highways are our own project. The people spared neither time nor effort, as they understood perfectly well that without good roads we would remain a backwater forever."

"The cooperative has an interest in keeping young people on the farm, and jobs alone, though well-paid, are not enough. Young people have to be motivated in other ways. It is very important for them not to feel cut off from the rest of the world and be able to go to Seelow, Bernau, Frankfurt and other nearby cities every now and then. Now that virtually every family has a car or motorbike, young people no longer have to spend their free time at home. Our fashion-conscious girls, too,

Young people care for the forests around, cutting and removing deadwood, and the numerous rivulets and lakes in the vicinity have clean water and attract anglers and swimmers.

The elderly, including those who are single, do not feel neglected in the village. Young volunteers help them look after their homes and build up fuel stocks for the winter. Retired members of the cooperative can have meals at cut rates in the communal canteen.

I saw members of the cooperative at work. They apply themselves to the limit, never wasting a moment in the fields, on the farm, or on construction sites. Work is organized perfectly: there are no loafers, machines do not stand idle, and everyone seems to know what is to be done at any given moment. The cooperative seems to be close-knit, with everyone doing a job according to his or her abilities and tastes and feeling a master of the communal property.

In the afternoon, the café was pack-

ed and several people were busy in the recreation centre, getting ready for a local amateur talent show.

"There are many people willing to attend interest groups, and drama is especially popular," I was told by the young director of the centre.

Social Phenomenon

The National Council of the National Front of the G.D.R. in Berlin is the headquarters of the community improvement movement, supervising it through local committees.

The mass movement has existed in the republic for almost 20 years and its contribution to the housing development programme is especially remarkable. Hundreds of thousands in town



A new residential district in Schwerin.

Photo by Ernst Höhne

and countryside voluntarily repair apartment blocks and public buildings and do gardening and landscaping. The work performed voluntarily during the past five-year-plan period doubled that of the previous five years to reach a value of more than 20 billion marks. Altogether 658,000 flats in old houses were repaired during the period and tap water was brought to more than 600,000 people in rural areas. The republic has 4,300 repair shops which help people with such jobs.

The scale and achievements of the movement give every reason to characterize it as an exceptional social phenomenon in the life of the republic.

R. KRESTYANINOV
our special correspondent

Berlin—Moscow

YOU ASK...

What are the standing commissions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet? How do they actually influence affairs in your country? What are the rights and duties of Soviet MPs?

Henri NOIRET, Paris

The Soviet MP and What He Does

The Supreme Soviet meets for routine sessions twice a year. Its Presidium meets once every two months. The standing commissions work day by day in strict accordance with this timetable, upon which they directly depend. It is these bodies that ensure unbroken continuity in the work of the country's highest body of state authority.

Legislation Plus Control

The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet currently have 34 such commissions, 17 each for the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. There were fewer prior to the adoption of the new U.S.S.R. Constitution in 1977. Recently more have been set up, such as the energy commissions (offshoots of the industry commissions), the commissions for environment protection and the rational use of natural resources, the commissions for female labour and mother and child welfare. Current changes in the economy and in society generally are also reflected in the structural organization of these bodies.

More than 80 per cent of the total membership of the current Supreme Soviet are members of one commission or another. This amounts to 1,210 of the total of 1,500

MPs. But in fact, all Supreme Soviet deputies without exception contribute in one way or other to the work of these bodies.

The commissions of the two chambers and the chambers themselves are all absolutely equal. Indeed, two commissions with the same business in hand will have the same number of members. Say, the industry commission of the Soviet of the Union has the same 35 members as the industry commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. These two commissions work according to a coordinated plan.

The standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet examine the root causes of their relevant problems and, what is important, try to find effective ways of solving them in the earliest possible time. They have at their disposal the help of any institution or organization, of leading scientists and experts.

Before a new law is endorsed a bill is drafted, and this is also an obligation of the standing commissions.

So the work of the commissions can be summed up as the search for ways and means of resolving acute social problems, and the drafting of new laws. But is that all? No, it is not. The laws that people write, even when they leave nothing to be desired, do not take effect of their own

accord. Their implementation in the different economic branches and administrative divisions must necessarily be supervised and controlled. And though there are special agencies for that purpose, the Supreme Soviet monitors observance of operative legislation, an obligation it again discharges through its standing commissions.

Such is their range of activity. The points of departure are varied. For instance, a newspaper reports that Karelia's forests are diminishing. While it is clear that timber is needed and trees are being chopped down, it is essential from the angle of environment protection legislation for felled forests to be replaced. Why is this not being done? Naturally, the commissions for environment protection and the rational use of natural resources cannot overlook the question. So, proceeding from the newspaper report, they decide to look at the matter from all angles, that is to say, they investigate the way in which environment protection is organized generally in the Karelian Autonomous Republic.

Or take the fact that though shoe shops have plenty of footwear on display, customers often come away empty-handed. This is something that the commissions for consumer commodities and public services cannot pass over in silence. It appears that the customer does not like the quality of the footwear produced by enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry. This means that the work of the ministry must be examined in-depth.

The commissions for female labour and mother and child welfare decided to act when the Central Statistical Board issued data indicating that in Uzbekistan female employment in the economy was far behind the national average. Though one of the reasons for this is Uzbekistan's large families with many mothers stay-

ing at home to raise their children, the commissions inquired whether this was the only cause. What about kindergartens and nurseries? What about working conditions? How was the special legislation for protecting female labour and the interests of mothers and children being implemented in the republic?

So far we have seen how the objective is defined. But what sort of machinery is set in motion to accomplish it? As I was Izvestia correspondent covering the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet for a number of years, I am familiar with the way the system works.

Statesmanlike Approach

As soon as one issue or another is taken up by a standing commission, some of the members, among whom are deputies from both chambers, form a team which is made responsible for the matter. The first step is to obtain as much relevant information as possible and inquiries are made at the respective central and local bodies.

After this information had been collected and assimilated, one or perhaps several of the deputies, usually the more experienced and if necessary in conjunction with experts, go out to examine the situation for themselves on the spot.

After this comes a meeting to discuss the issue. This culminates the entire effort. The time, date and place are arranged in advance. As a rule, it takes place in the Kremlin, to which the deputies invite "the parties concerned"—anyone who can make a useful contribution when the question is discussed.

If the matter is "territorial," the executives of the respective republic or region will necessarily be present. If the matter is "industrial," the minister responsible will be invited. If he is not available, his first deputy will be asked to come. This is more than a courtesy; presence is mandatory, even though not all those invited are willing to attend. Indeed, they sometimes think it is merely to give advice, but then they find that they have to answer for their work.

A short while ago the commissions for consumer commodities and public services discussed what Soviets in the Grodno region in Byelorussia were doing in this respect. Though Alexander Ustkachintsev, first deputy minister of Chemical Industry of the U.S.S.R., would seem to have had very little to do with the matter, he was invited and asked to report on how public services were organized for personnel in chemical enterprises in the Grodno region and what generally was being done in the industry to have personnel adequately provided with such services. What followed is of some interest.

The deputy minister described the scale on which housing and cultural, recreation and sports facilities were being built for industry personnel. It all looked satisfactory. He also specified the volume of services planned for the year, amounting to as much as 76 million rubles. But the deputies knew what this really meant.

Deputy Vyacheslav Gusev, in the chair, asked Alexander Ustkachintsev: "What rent and fees for nurseries and kindergartens came to?"

Ustkachintsev: "They amount to somewhere in the region of 40 million rubles."

Gusev: "I think you are mistaken, as the commission knows, it amounts to 60 million rubles. The remaining 16 million would be negligible in per capita terms."

Ustkachintsev: "We are, of course, lagging in housing repair, but only because we have not been provided with the necessary funds for materials."

Gusev: "Do you really need funds? Your industry manufactures varnishes, plastics, wallpaper and paint. If enough is produced over and above the plan, nobody will object to these materials being used for local needs. I think Nikolai Arkhipets (deputy chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, who was also present) will definitely not object."

Arkhipets: "The industry is failing to meet plan targets generally."

Gusev: "And the quality is none too good either, as a result of which the textile in-

dustry and the entire range of public services are being held back. Though years have passed, you still do not produce good textile dyes, and this drives prospective clients away from dressmaking establishments."

Ustkachintsev: "This criticism is just."

Gusev: "As the first deputy minister you should approach the problem as befits your office."

Clearly, the deputy minister had been invited to discuss a matter that seemed outside his competence, but found himself obliged to answer for the state of affairs in the industry.

At the same meeting Dmitry Artsimenya, chairman of the Grodno regional executive committee, reported on what the Soviets in the region were doing to promote public services. He said that matters were satisfactory, but that they had headaches. "We are still not able to provide new residential neighbourhoods with adequate public service establishments," he said. "The reason is that we get only 0.4 per cent from overall investment in housing for this purpose, which is certainly not enough. It would be a good idea if the deputies could revise the situation."

Now this is not self-evident, because the more is taken from such funds for this purpose, the less there will be for housing construction. Meanwhile the housing problem is still acute. The matter is not simple, but it was essential to give thought to it. The deputies agreed and said they would appeal to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to review the issue.

Artsimenya had one more proposal to make. "Today," he said, "we don't get a single kopeck for the promotion of public services from funds used to build cooperative housing. On the other hand, plenty of such housing is being constructed, about half the amount built by the state. Whole residential neighbourhoods are built in this way. However, tenants are obliged to travel considerable distances to go to the cinema, to have their clothes cleaned or hair done." "What do you suggest?" a question followed. "That such establishments be put up at

the expense of tenants who pay for the construction of their cooperative housing?"

Artsimenya: "On the contrary, they should be thanked for helping out the state. On the other hand, it is mostly people working at one or other establishment or plant, and hence it is the business of their enterprise to take care of the matter by transferring the respective funds to the accounts of the local Soviets, the same amount as they would get were the state putting up the housing. Isn't this fair?"

The deputies could not but agree.

Such is the general tenor of these meetings. What does it add up to in reality? Does it all end with the deputies clarifying the matter, exchanging views, reprimanding some officials for shortcomings or encouraging others for their suggestions and good work? On the contrary, having analyzed the problem and seen what obstructs its solution, the commissions issue recommendations to definite central or local bodies as to what they should do.

Now, I hear you say that recommendations are not mandatory. While that is so, when such recommendations are backed by the country's supreme legislature, they have much weight. Every person or organization to which such recommendations are addressed must report back to the commission on what has been done within a specified deadline. The matter cannot be simply brushed aside, as when the deputies see that things are done merely for show they tell the person or organization concerned to rethink the matter, and then keep an eye on what is being done until the matter has been dealt with.

Few people know that the Kharkov underground was begun as a result of such a recommendation. Such recommendations may bring a new town into being in the taiga, plot the route of a new gas or oil pipeline, or considerably alter the state budget.

The State Planning Committee initially allocated 4,035 million rubles to the Ministry of Electric Power Development and Electrification for the industry's

needs this year. But when the members of the two energy commissions related this sum to actual needs they saw that that was not enough. Though it was adequate to bring the planned energy capacities into operation, it was also necessary to build for the future and there was too little for this purpose. Naturally, the deputies did more than simply indicate the fact. They advised the State Planning Committee to reconsider the matter and as a result it allocated an additional 600 million rubles.

At the Restructuring Stage

In the new conditions which the country is now experiencing, the Supreme Soviet's standing commissions are coming more and more resolutely to the fore in the effort to accelerate socio-economic development. The significance of this was underscored recently by Mikhail Gorbachev, at his meeting with Party activists in Krasnodar Territory. He proceeded in his assessment of the difficulties and specific features of the current process from the results achieved in their work by the industry, planning and budgetary commissions.

A short while ago these bodies met jointly to discuss the work of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Engineering in the context of an experiment initiated in the area, the point of which is to give enterprises and amalgamations more economic autonomy and relieve them of superfluous tutelage from above. As not everything is plain sailing in this experiment, which is already in its third year, the deputies decided to analyze the situation and concluded that the industry's executives have still not completely abandoned outdated methods of work, finding it difficult to renounce powers which should be invested directly in the work collectives in line with restructuring. After sternly censuring conservative attitudes and fear of innovation, they insisted that the ministry really and truly go over to the new methods of economic management.

Yuri KHRENOV

Economic Troubles, Technological Problems

YURI SHISHKOV, D. Sc. (Econ.)

In the spate of documents circulated by the Commission of the European Communities, the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, and other agencies of West European integration, an increasingly notable place belongs to coordination of scientific and technological policy. The European Council, which consists of the heads of state and government, devotes constant attention to this problem.

What accounts for this? There are several reasons, but they all are closely linked with the scientific and technological revolution, the transition to new production technology based on the latest scientific achievements. "Each country is affected by these problems to a different extent," the brochure "The European Community's Research Policy," put out by the Commission of the European Communities, states, "but common to all is the fact that research and science are inextricably bound up with economics and politics... Issues affecting political and economic life and our very survival are increasingly being decided in laboratories and research centres."

Chronic Malaise

One of the most acute problems in Western Europe is unemployment. In ten EEC countries the army of the redundant increased from 2.6 million in the early 1970s to 13 million by the beginning of this year, and if Spain and Portugal are included, it now runs to nearly 16.5 million. In January this year registered unemployed, according to official figures, accounted for 12 per cent of the overall labour force on the average, and in some EEC countries even more. It should be borne in mind, however, that the real figures are 40 to 50 per cent higher than the official.

The chronic unemployment naturally disquiets the ruling circles of the Common Market countries, for it is fraught with a sharpening of the struggle between labour and capital. Hence the efforts made to find a way out of the socially dangerous situation. The tried and tested method of stimulating economic activity and reducing the number of unemployed is the boosting of exports. In other words, markets are expanded by tapping the internal demand in other countries. However, in the

context of integration this expedient is largely ineffective inasmuch as with the growing interdependence of national economies, all countries of the group find themselves in the grip of crisis almost simultaneously.

Besides, the old device leads to highly negative consequences for integration. The striving of the EEC partners to increase their exports and at the same time limit imports has led to a hidden trade war. Thus, the very foundation of integration—a common commodity market—and also the community's system of division of labour, which is designed to ensure efficiency of production and economic growth, are being gradually eroded.

The result is a vicious circle: the slowing down of the rate of development and the attendant social complications make for what is called "economic nationalism," which, in turn, worsens the external conditions of development. It was not by chance that in 1985, 17 years after the elimination of customs barriers between the EEC countries, the European Council had to take a special decision to create by 1992 a genuine internal market for goods and services.

Thus, life itself has disappointed the hopes of the theorists and practical proponents of West European integration that it would ensure stable economic growth and resolve the region's social problems. Since the beginning of the 1980s the EEC as a whole has been lagging behind the growth rate of the gross domestic product not only in the U.S. and Japan, but also in West European countries not belonging to the Community.

Emphasis on the Technological Revolution

In this connection the view was advanced at the EEC headquarters in Brussels that the way out must be sought not so much through more protectionism and a more vigorous joint social policy as through the restructuring of industry in keeping with the dictates of the scientific and technological revolution. The accent is now placed on accelerating the development of high-technology industries, which increasingly determine

the outlook for the economy as a whole.

The development of high-technology industries affects employment in a variety of ways. In the short term, it leads to automation and reduction of the manpower needed. Moreover, capital tends to flow from the old industries to the science-intensive and high-technology branches, with the result that the old industries decline or are transferred to developing countries. The old industrial areas become social disaster zones. In the long run, however, Western experts believe, the introduction of new technology and the appearance of altogether new types of goods will spur the development of related industries and require new equipment and new types of services. It is believed that in the long run this "multiplying" effect will create more jobs than are lost at the initial stage of the restructuring. The fact remains, however, that so far the main burden falls on the shoulders of the working people.

The employers are not particularly concerned over this. The important thing for them is that high-technology industries offer higher profits. Hence the inflow of a substantial part of investment capital into these industries. Estimates show that in six leading EEC countries (Belgium, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, France and the F.R.G.) share capital in high-technology industries rose by 40.4 per cent in 1972-81, compared with an increase of 33.8 per cent in medium-technology industries and 21.4 per cent in low-technology industries.*

The same estimates show that in the

* High-technology industries include electrical equipment, electronics, information technology, automated office equipment and precision instruments, chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

Into the medium-technology bracket go industrial machinery, transport equipment, rubber and plastics, paper and cardboard, printing and the food industry.

The low-technology industries include extraction of metal ores and other mineral raw materials, iron and steel, construction materials, textiles, leather-working and other branches of the manufacturing industry.

above-mentioned six countries, plus Denmark, investment in low-technology industries has been steadily declining since the beginning of the 1970s, and in 1982 was 40 per cent less than in 1972. This left 2.7 million workers without jobs.

Incidentally, employment is on the decline also in branches where capital investment in fixed capital has been steadily growing. In the above seven countries the number of workers employed in medium-technology in-

such important indicators of economic strength as the volume of industrial output, gross domestic product, and per capita national income.

The ruling quarters of the Community became increasingly confident that the time was not far off when they could deal with the U.S. on equal terms. Japan, despite the rapidity of its growth rate, did not seem to present any serious threat to the EEC whose economic potential was much greater.

The Common Market, however, un-

Such tendencies threaten to make the West European countries technologically dependent on their overseas competitors, which would spell the defeat of the West European centre of imperialism in the contest for markets and profits. These tendencies are fraught also with serious dangers of a social order. According to experts, in the near future 30 to 50 per cent of all jobs will directly or indirectly depend on the production of information technology. Since the EEC countries now import half of the microprocessors, three quarters of the videotape equipment and four fifths of the microcomputers they need, most of the jobs created by the development of information science are outside Western Europe.

Eureka and Others

To close the breach driven by rivals on the technological front, emergency measures were needed. The Common Market countries sharply stepped up joint efforts on a Community-wide scale.

Since 1980 the Commission of the European Communities has been working on a periodically revised common programme of scientific and technological priorities which provides guideposts for 39 areas of research up to the year 1990. In conformity with the common programme, the EEC Council of Ministers has endorsed a number of specific programmes. The following are the most important of them.

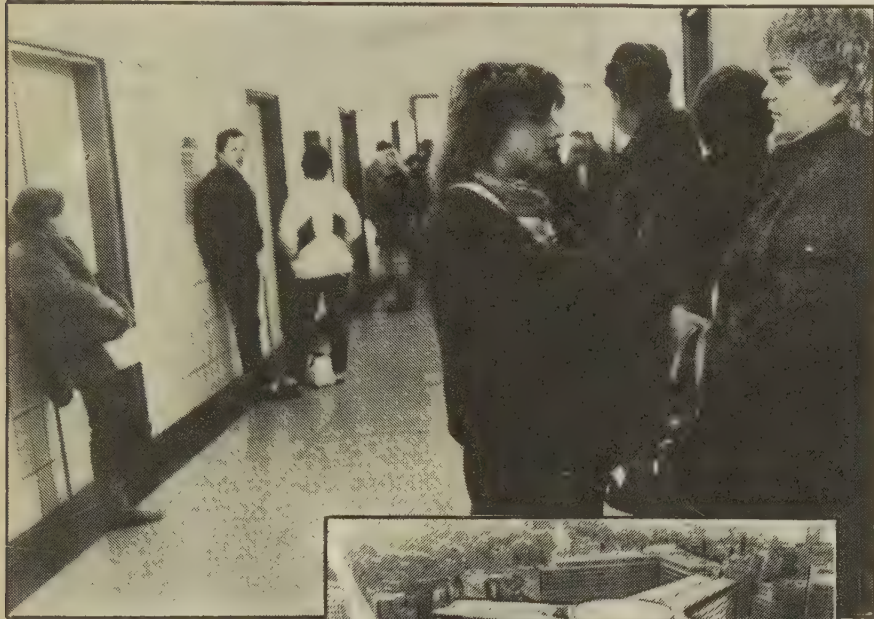
— The European Strategic Programme for Information Technologies (ESPRIT) for 1984-88. It provides for the financing by the community of up to 50 per cent of the expenditures on research and development in the sphere of information science, electronics and computer technology if the work is done jointly by enterprises, institutes or universities of two or more member countries.

— Research and development in advanced communications technologies for Europe (RACE) for 1985-86 (subject to prolongation) is designed to stimulate technical progress in telecommunications.

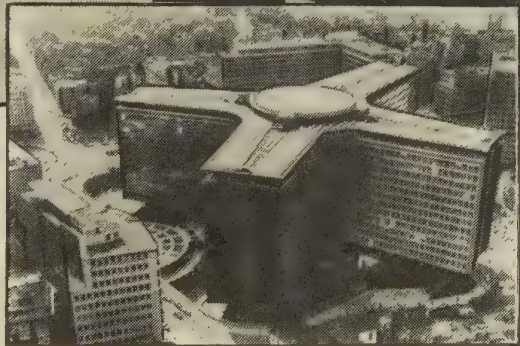
— Basic research in industrial technologies for Europe (BRITE) for 1985-88 is a project aimed at stimulating joint research on new technologies and products for the traditional branches of industry—engineering, textiles, leather-working, etc.

— A special research programme in biotechnology for 1985-89, designed to accelerate projects in the spheres of bioinformation science, ferment technology, genetic engineering, etc., and also the training of specialists in microbiology.

A special place in the integration of the research potentials of West European countries is occupied by the Eureka programme, which began to be drawn up on the initiative of France



The lot of these young men and women waiting in the corridors of a Dortmund employment agency is shared by about a million and a half other young people in the F.R.G.
TASS photos



dustries dropped in the ten years by 1.1 million, and in high-technology industries, by 438,000. This was due both to the labour-saving effect of automation and to the intensified competition with U.S. and Japanese firms. The competition aspect merits particular attention: in the scramble for a place in the "technological sun" the EEC was the loser.

Weakening of Positions

Having built up a capacious regional market and joined efforts in a number of basic branches (iron and steel, coal mining, agriculture), the EEC countries made notable headway in their rivalry with the U.S. in the 1960s and the early 1970s. The West European group overtook their transatlantic competitor for growth rates of accumulations, investments, productivity of labour, volume of exports, and for total gold and foreign currency reserves. The gap between the U.S. and the EEC countries also rapidly diminished as regards

derestimated its rivals. West European captains of business and political leaders failed to see the changes taking place in the scientific and technological sector of interimperialist rivalry. The positions of the EEC began to weaken in this respect as far back as the mid-1970s. From 1975 to 1983 the aggregate spending by Common Market countries on research and development increased by 25 per cent, whereas the corresponding percentage in the U.S. was 40, and in Japan, as much as 80. As a result, in the 1970s the high-technology branches in the U.S. and Japan developed faster than in the EEC countries. By 1982 the share of these branches in the total industrial output of the Common Market countries barely reached 20 per cent, as against nearly 30 per cent in the U.S. and Japan. The EEC found itself hard pressed, and its share of the world market for high-technology products dropped, while those of the U.S. and Japan increased considerably.

in the spring of 1984 as a reply to Washington's SDI programme. The French idea was supported not only by the EEC twelve, but by six other West European countries. By mid-1986 more than 70 bilateral and multilateral research programmes in the spheres of information science, telecommunication, robotics and other top high-technology spheres had been approved.

Proceeding from these initiatives, the Commission of the European Communities put forward last summer the idea of establishing a "technological Europe"—extensive coordination of the scientific and technological policies of the EEC countries and the heightening of the role of the Community's agencies and of its joint financial resources in international division of labour in research. The heads of state and government of the EEC countries endorsed the idea. The share of appropriations from the Community's funds is expected to increase from 3 per cent to 8 per cent of the total private and governmental expenditures on research.

* * *

Thus, in response to the growing threat from without the leading circles of the Community are preparing a "great leap forward" in the scientific and technological sphere. Technology is relegating to the background internal conflicts in the West European lineup, prompting it to work closer together. But it should not be forgotten that the internal conflicts have merely been shelved for a time, not eliminated. They are latent in each of the research programmes, in each joint project, and reappear whenever it comes to the sharing of profits and losses. They lie hidden also in the deeper differences between the interests of the participating countries; in their striving to obtain from the Community's funds for their national scientific programmes more than they contribute to its budget; in the unabating struggle for the division of the group's common market; in the constant efforts of each of the twelve to gain major economic advantages which would add to its weight in the West European setup.

One should, therefore, not overestimate the significance of the turn towards a "technological Europe" as the U.S. Christian Science Monitor, for instance, does. "Yet today," the paper says, "from London to Athens, from Hamburg to Madrid, the ice of decades is showing signs of at least a partial thaw. Euro-optimism is beginning to make inroads into the more fashionable Euro-pessimism." However significant the scientific and technological cooperation programmes that have been adopted, they alone will not, of course, be able to melt the "ice of decades" and inject new life into West European integration.

F.R.G.

The Green Tide

From our own correspondent
ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN

At noon on May 19, a DPA correspondent reported on a Green Party congress from Hanover. According to his report, delegates jubilantly applauded the news that policemen had been injured in clashes with demonstrators in Wackersdorf, Bavaria.

Wackersdorf was indeed the scene of the most brutal police action ever in the F.R.G.'s history. On provocation from an anarchist group the police scattered a demonstration, thousands strong, protesting against the construction of a plant for the recycling of nuclear waste. At the moment when the DPA correspondent dispatched the "news," however, the Green Party congress delegates had as yet no notion of the Wackersdorf events.

Nevertheless, this piece of misinformation was used by certain quarters as a pretext for launching a propaganda campaign against a party not to their liking.

What are the actual demands put forward by the Greens? Whom do they represent, and how great is their influence in the country?

A Party of Protest

A three-party system has been functioning without a hitch in the Federal Republic for decades, with the CDU/CSU bloc of bourgeois parties usually winning about 45 per cent, and Social Democrats nearly 40 per cent of the vote at general elections. As for the third—the struggling Free Democratic Party—the bigger parties have always depended on it, as a junior partner, for their showing at general elections. Using the Free Democratic Party it was always possible to bring about an "optimum" combination of political forces in the country.

The three-party system seemed to be reliably protected by the anti-democratic law under which parties winning less than five per cent of the vote at elections are barred from the Bundestag and local parliaments. Many parties came up against the "five-per-cent" barrier in their attempts to become a "fourth force."

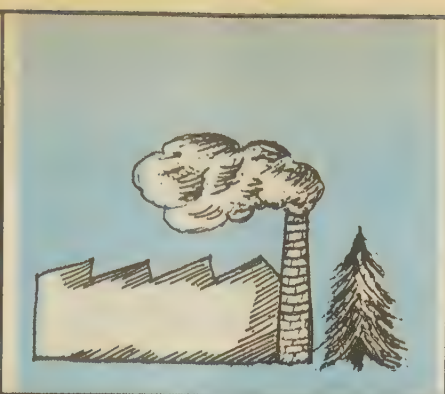
When four ecological organizations announced their merger into the Green

Party at the Karlsruhe congress in January 1980, few expected the new party to become a serious political force in the immediate future. This scepticism seemed to be confirmed by the autumn 1980 Bundestag elections which brought the Greens a mere 1.5 per cent of the vote. Now, only six and a half years after its establishment, the party has factions in five of the F.R.G.'s ten lands: Bremen, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, Lower Saxony and Hamburg. More than 7,000 Greens sit in communal parliaments. At the general elections on March 6, 1983, they won 2.2 million votes—an all-time high to date. A radical-democratic opposition had appeared in the Bundestag.

The Greens have also had their share of setbacks. Last year, for instance, they failed to get their representatives into the parliaments of the F.R.G.'s smallest (Saarland) and largest (North Rhine-Westphalia) lands. Social Democrats won an absolute majority in both cases. The bourgeois press predicted an early demise for the young party. Last June, however, the Greens managed to win over still more supporters at the Lower Saxony elections, though not as many as they had expected.

As a political party, the Greens suffer from several obvious shortcomings. Their membership is only about 40,000 as compared with the CDU's 730,000, the CSU's 180,000, the FDP's 70,000 and the SDPG's 910,000. Even this figure is tentative because no centralized records are kept. The Green Party is anything but homogeneous. On the contrary, as Lukas Beckmann, a member of the board, admitted, it consists of "many initiatives, groups and organizations" and encompasses "the most diverse spiritual trends and political concepts." There is nothing surprising about this: on its establishment the party drew former Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, leftist groupings, and many young people with no previous political commitment.

The Allensbach Sociological Research Institute intermittently circulates a questionnaire which always contains the question: "Do you believe mankind is moving towards a better future?" In 1972, 60 per cent of the F.R.G. citizens



The future as the Greens envision it.

polled answered in the affirmative. By January 1980 the number of optimists had dwindled to 31 per cent. The well-known politologist Werner Kaltenfleiter is of the opinion that the "protest potential" involves twenty per cent of the country's population. He claims that trust in the political elite was at its nadir in the early 1980s. The Green Party took up and gave a voice to this protest. It has the support of those disappointed in the traditional parliamentary parties and bourgeois democracy in general.

The Green Party emerged from extra-parliamentary opposition movements—especially the movement for the protection of the environment. It would be wrong, however, to regard it as a purely "ecological" party because the Greens also identify with the movements for female equality and solidarity with the developing nations.

The success of the Greens was mostly due to the fact that their emergence on the political scene coincided with an unprecedented upsurge of the peace movement. The Greens took up the slogans of the movement and demanded, at their first congress, that Europe be rid of nuclear and chemical weapons. They resolutely and uncompromisingly opposed the deployment of American medium-range missiles in the F.R.G. The Green Party's clear-cut anti-militaristic stand has won it the votes of many in the peace movement. Once in the Bundestag, the Greens announced they would represent the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Fresh Wind in the Bundestag

The Greens seek to make full use of the Bundestag as a forum for criticizing the current government's policy. Their deputies' statements, especially those made during debates on the "double decision" by NATO, in connection with the Flick affair, on social policy or the bills legalizing total police surveillance, caused nationwide repercussions. Their criticism sounds more convincing than that emanating from the Social Dem-

ocratic Party. After all, in office the Social Democrats supported "missile rearmament," took money from Flick and slashed social welfare spending. The young party's record, on the other hand, is unblemished.

On the Green Party's initiative, the Bundestag now discusses matters which have never previously been tabled, such as political discrimination in employment. The Bundestag's smallest faction, only 28-strong, demands explanations from the government on dozens of occasions monthly and puts forward bills of its own. What are the results of this activity? I put this question to Ludger Volmer, a Green Bundestag deputy.

"Concrete results are not particularly impressive," Volmer told me. "Only two of our bills have been passed, one to ban the import of turtles, and the other—well, it escapes me for the moment.... Something of the same order, anyway."

As Volmer sees it, the results of the Green Party's activity must be judged not by the number of decisions it has made the Bundestag adopt, but by the part it plays in forming public opinion in the country. Volmer believes this part to be substantial, especially in such matters as safeguarding peace, protecting the environment and upholding democratic rights. The other parties are compelled to seek answers to the Greens' questions, engage in polemics with them and sometimes even make certain adjustments in their own positions. This is especially true of the Social Democrats.

Although the SDPG and the Greens are in opposition, their parliamentary factions compete rather than cooperate with one another.

"We have a clearer and more radical approach to things," Volmer said. "There have been cases of Social Democrats rejecting our proposed line of action only to modify their own."

Although the Green Party's deputies are formally regarded as competent "people's representatives," most other MPs consider them second-rate.

"For instance, we are kept out of the Bundestag committee in charge of controlling the operation of the secret services," Volmer said. "When addressing

the representatives of the 'democratic parties,' the Bundestag president never mentions the Greens."

Volmer took an optimistic view of his party's chances at the forthcoming elections scheduled for next January, but conceded that winning more votes than it did in 1983 would take a great deal of effort. In his opinion, the period of extensive development, when the Greens drew supporters by asking questions and criticizing the present system, was over. Now the party has entered the intensive phase and must furnish its own answers to the questions raised.

Election Programme

The Greens are justly criticized for having no realistic alternative to the modern "industrial society" they denounce. Their vision of the future is neither new, nor sufficiently clear. The Greens insist that society should be based on four principles: ecological, social, direct democracy and non-violence. They want a decentralized democracy consisting of "self-managing and self-sufficient units," i.e., small and middle enterprises. Big factories are to be closed down. Non-violence is conceived as freedom from coercion by the state. The Green Party's ideologists reject centralized planning and are trying to find a third road of social development—neither capitalist nor socialist. "Both systems," they say, "are versions of an alienated society of factories and institutions geared to destructive economic growth." What the Greens claim to be a new word in social science is actually a relapse into anarchism. They offer no effective solutions to pressing everyday problems.

Within the party increasingly insistent demands are being made to get down to work on programmatic questions in earnest. Petra Kelly, one of the founders of the Green Party, says it is necessary "to bring the blurred edges of party policy into sharper focus."

At their Hagen congress held in the summer of 1985 the Greens adopted a decision to work out a comprehensive economic and social programme. At the

end of February 1986 its draft entitled "Transformation of Industrial Society. A Programme for Overcoming Unemployment and Poverty and for Preventing the Destruction of the Environment" was submitted for general discussion. The draft is a joint effort by representatives of different intra-party trends which, however, have never come to an agreement on many matters of principle. This is why the draft has been prefaced with two preambles—one by the majority and the other by the minority. Neither preamble analyzes the causes of the crisis capitalist society is now experiencing; the authors confine themselves to dwelling on the forms in which the crisis manifests itself, and leave open the question of the ownership of the means of production and the forces capable of transforming it.

The draft constitutes, for the most part, a list of measures its authors believe it necessary to carry out within the next few years. An indisputable virtue of the document is that it includes the main trade union demands: a shorter working week (as a means of reducing unemployment), more rights for workers in production management, the socialization of the metallurgical industry, the banning of lockouts and the abolition of legal limits on the right to industrial action. It is small wonder, therefore, that the Metalworkers' Union, the F.R.G.'s biggest, has on the whole approved the document. True, the union disagrees with some of the draft programme's provisions, specifically, it does not subscribe to the demand that all atomic power plants be shut down immediately.

After months of discussions the programme was approved at the congress held in Nuremberg on September 26-28. At their previous congress in Hanover in mid-May the Greens adopted a number of pre-election documents, including a programme for safeguarding peace.

At the congress the Greens took an important step forward by discarding the thesis of "the equal responsibility of the two superpowers" for the arms race. They pointed out in no uncertain terms that the main causes of international tension lay in the emphasis by NATO and the U.S. on confrontation and gaining military superiority. The awareness of this comes from the political experience accumulated by the party. The Soviet Union's disarmament proposals—particularly, its programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons approved by all F.R.G. peace forces, the Greens included—also played a part here.

In Hanover the Greens reaffirmed their former demands that American nuclear missiles and chemical weapons be withdrawn from the country, that the F.R.G. should not take part in SDI and its

European version, and that the country should cut its military spending. The Greens believe that the F.R.G. could take unilateral steps towards disarmament to create a precedent for other countries to do so. They demand the disbanding of military blocs and want the F.R.G. out of NATO.

One cannot fail to see that anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices, widespread among the Greens, show in the party's stand on a number of international issues. The Greens share the right-wingers' attitude to the events in Afghanistan, for instance. What's more, many of the Green Party members, who can hardly be suspected of political naiveté, mingle with visiting Afghan counterrevolutionary chieftains and refer to these professional terrorists as human rights fighters.

A Left-of-CDU Majority?

Following the collapse of the social liberal coalition in Bonn, the SDPG Chairman Willy Brandt said the task now was to form "a left-of-CDU majority." He uttered this now famous phrase on the evening of September 26, 1982, after word came that the Social Democrats and the Greens had won the Hesse elections and formed a coalition.

Do the Greens stand any chance of doing as well at the Bundestag elections scheduled for January 1987? Public opinion polls have revealed that the ruling CDU/CSU and FDP parties, on the one hand, and the SDPG and the Greens, on the other, have approximately equal followings. Only the election returns will show which gains the upper hand. But are the parties now in the opposition capable of cooperation? In the event of their winning, will they prove able to reach agreement on a government programme? The future of the country largely depends on the answers to these questions. Not surprisingly, heated political debates are going on this score.

Out to scare the man-in-the-street, the right tell him that the "red-green" coalition would inevitably land the country in economic chaos and badly retard its technological progress. Now a mainstay of NATO, they say, the F.R.G. would become the Achilles' heel of the free world and find itself defenceless in the teeth of the notorious "Soviet threat." The advocates of cooperation between the SDPG and the Green Party expect this coalition to offer a historic chance to get the present conservative government out of office, remove American missiles from the country's territory, cancel the agreement with the United States on the F.R.G.'s participation in

SDI, bring back détente, take effective measures to protect the environment, reduce unemployment, and put an end to policies that result in the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. But while the bloc of bourgeois parties is solid in opposing the "red-green" danger, the Social Democratic Party and the Greens (as well as different groupings within these parties) still disagree on what strategic line to take in their action against the ruling coalition.

The Green Party has actually split into two wings bitterly opposed to one another. The so-called "fundamentalists" deem it inadmissible to become involved in any coalition as this would "give the signal for reconciliation with the system." The "realists" point to contemporary problems. "If it is true," says one of them, Otto Schily, "that the present government's policy is so dangerous to peace, causes such damage to the environment and is so unfair socially, that it threatens our very existence, then the Greens ought to show courage, persistence and self-confidence in order to initiate a new policy in alliance with the SDPG."

The "realists" who believe the Green Party's No. 1 objective to be defeating the coalition now in office managed to come out on top at the latest (Nuremberg) congress. Following heated debates (with 210 delegates asking for the floor and only 20 getting it by lot, and with 27 mutually exclusive draft resolutions under discussion), the congress adopted a Letter to Electors accepting the possibility of cooperation with the SDPG, granted the parties now in the opposition won most of the seats in the Bundestag. True, the principles underlying this cooperation are still to be worked out at the next congress to be convened right after the elections.

At the same time the Greens called in question the seriousness of the SDPG's intention to topple the present coalition.

Brandt's apt formula has not become programmatic for the Social Democrats, indeed, he seems to have forgotten all about it himself. Johannes Rau, the SDPG's candidate for the chancellorship, keeps reiterating that he would not even think of entering into a coalition with the Greens. The party leadership regards any discussion on the subject as damaging.

Under Diverse Cover

Local political observers agree that the Social Democrats' hopes of gaining an absolute majority are without foundation. This view is borne out by the results of the elections in Lower Saxony where the SDPG went all out to dissociate itself from the Greens. As a result, both parties missed a chance of winning a feasible and very important victory and remained in opposition.

Why so? After all, "a left-of-CDU majority" has become a reality in Hesse. True, the birth of the coalition was a long and agonizing process with the partners arguing for months—often over matters of minor importance—to mutual exhaustion. Preterm elections were called, but the electors voted for the "red-greens" again. Finally, an agreement was signed and a Green was given the post of Minister of Environment Protection. Despite all the difficulties, the coalition works.

The SDPG leadership says, however, that the "Hesse model" cannot be elevated to federal level. Annemarie Renger, vice-president of the Bundestag for the Social Democratic Party, explained that the Social Democrats and the Greens had different notions of democracy. What right-wing Social Democrats really dread is an alteration in the system. They would rather enter a "big coalition" with the CDU/CSU than cooperate with the Greens. SDPG leaders say they cannot form a coalition with a party seeking to get the F.R.G. out of NATO (although withdrawal, as the Greens see it, is a long process, which, moreover, is associated with the dissolution of all military blocs in the long run). While levelling sharp criticism at the government for its "vassal loyalty" to Washington, the SDPG believes belonging to NATO "the basic factor of the F.R.G.'s security." The demands that the Department for Safeguarding the Constitution (which keeps an eye on political suspects) be closed down and that the provision for "the reunification of Germany" as an F.R.G. policy objective be struck out of the Constitution are unacceptable to the Social Democrats.

Objectively, however, the Social Democratic Party and the Greens hold more or less similar views, and even see eye to eye on many home and foreign policy problems. This provides a basis for cooperation.

Bonn

There are as many organizations in India as stars in the sky. And like the celestial bodies, the nature of many of them remains a mystery to Indians. How did they spring up? Who finances them? Why do they show interest in what should be India's state secrets?

The Kudal Commission

In 1982, to answer these questions, Parliament set up a special commission headed by P. D. Kudal, a prominent Indian lawyer.

It began its inquiries by studying the activities of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Established in the 1950s, the foundation initially devoted itself to educational activities, spreading the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian struggle for national independence. Gandhi's name is considered sacred in India. So for a long time public opinion was bewildered by the fact that the foundation was drifting into activities that ran counter to the national interests of India. For example, in the mid-1970s its activists took to advocating "democracy" and opposing "authoritarianism." Translated from the political jargon of the time, this meant overthrowing Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and opening the floodgates to foreign capital. In the early 1980s the Gandhi Peace Foundation sprouted dozens of offshoots which penetrated many pores of the Indian state and acted contrary to Indian interests.

The Kudal Commission came up with startling revelations. One of its reports says that the Gandhi Peace Foundation and affiliated organizations maintain close contacts with overseas institutions which serve as cover for the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A. and to all intents and purposes engage in subversion against India's national security. For instance, an organization with the complicated and innocuous-sounding name of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, which operates under the foundation's auspices and has branches all over India, is financed by the Asia Foundation, and the latter, says the report, is a front for the CIA. The CIA uses the Gandhi Peace Foundation to finance an organization that goes by an equally preten-

tious name, the Cinemart Foundation. Just how much it has to do with cinema will be seen from the fact, established by the Kudal Commission, that it prepared a report on the position of some Indian tribes, and advocated the creation of a "separate tribal state" on the territories of the Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa states.



The so-called Gandhi Peace Foundation has its headquarters in this building in Delhi. A cover for the CIA!

Photo from Link magazine

One more example is the report on the prospects for the creation of another Uttar Pradesh prepared by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. According to competent sources, the compilation of this report was financed directly by the U.S. embassy in Delhi. The Bombay weekly Blitz wonders why the United States should want the partition of the state of Uttar Pradesh and where it plans to put the northern region of Uttar Pradesh which borders on China, a country with which India has unresolved frontier problems.

I put this and some other questions that came up incidentally to Mr Kudal.

"The agents the CIA has planted in the Gandhi Peace Foundation," says Mr Kudal, "have turned this organization into a source of anti-Indian trouble. We have at our disposal more than 400 pieces of documentary evidence to show that the foundation is used as a convenient cover for CIA activity to subvert the national unity of India and discredit the country's political leaders.

"Unlike some other developing countries," Mr Kudal goes on, "India refuses to give in to pressure from Western financial and economic organiza-

tions such as the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. That is why the American special services act through pawns inside the country.

"Exposures of their activity," concludes Mr Kudal, "makes some people nervous. I have been getting threatening telephone calls at my office and at home."

The pro-American lobby is trying to discredit the Kudal Commission and pin an "inquisition" label on it.

Friends and Lackeys

What are they afraid of? Perhaps not so much of specific revelations. In such cases, as so often in the past, the U.S. simply denies it has anything to do with espionage. It looks as if what is feared most is the fundamental conclusion to the effect that "the world's most populous democracy," as India is called in the U.S., is a target for subversion on the part of the world's "most industrialized democracy," even under the Rajiv Gandhi government to which the White House has pledged loyalty.

The pledge was made at the highest level after Washington had drawn the conclusion that the India of Rajiv Gandhi is not the India of Indira Gandhi. This was how the Reagan Administration interpreted some of the new Prime Minister's initiatives. He had taken measures to stimulate the private sector, opened the doors wider to foreign investment, and liberalized imports, which included the lifting of restrictions on consumer goods. The new government committed itself to an energetic economic modernization policy which, so Washington thought, would make Delhi look towards the West. The U.S. was banking on using India's interest in importing modern technology as a lever for diverting that great country from its independent path. According to informed Indian journalists, Morton Abramowitz, head of the State Department's Bureau of Research and Intelligence, has prepared a report on the prospects for re-orienting Rajiv Gandhi towards the U.S. by taking advantage of his wish to acquire new technology.

However, attempts to realize these prospects have misfired. Under Rajiv



Following a number of anti-imperialist actions taken by Delhi on the International arena, the Sikh separatists, backed by the U.S., proclaimed an "Independent Khalistan" in the Indian state of Punjab. A mere coincidence?

Photo from India Today magazine

Gandhi India kept to its established foreign policy. But a "reorientation," it appears, has taken place in Washington. Instead of reducing the scale of its support to its Pakistani ally, as India insisted, the U.S. has increased its military aid to Islamabad and continued to encourage Zia ul-Haq's nuclear ambitions.

During his meeting with Rajiv Gandhi, in the U.S. to attend last year's session of the U.N. General Assembly, Ronald Reagan in effect put Pakistan's nuclear programme and India's programme for the peaceful use of nuclear energy on the same footing. The U.S. refused to grant India credits on a multilateral basis and insisted on direct bilateral financial relations. This was seen in Delhi as a sign of Washington's intention to link credits to India's "behaviour" in the international arena.

To lend this view further credibility, in July the U.S. mission at the U.N. stressed in its report that of the ten votes on "key issues" at the last General Assembly session India had voted against the U.S. four times, and abstained six times. To this the Hindustan Times wryly retorted: why not say that it was the United States that voted against India on so many occasions?

Reacting to India's vigorous condemnation of the American air raids against Libya, Vernon A. Walters, the

U.S. ambassador to the U.N., openly threatened Delhi with certain "consequences." India experienced one of these consequences in the middle of this year when the U.S.-backed Sikh extremists proclaimed "an independent Khalistan" in Punjab. "Was it a mere coincidence," asked Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the middle of August, "that as we took a very strong and uncompromising stand on Libya, an independent Khalistan was announced?"

The United States, writes Kuldip Nayar, a conservative Indian observer, wants to have lackeys and not friends in the Third World. Realizing that this great Asian country cannot be turned into a lackey under any circumstances and that it refuses to be a friend on American terms, the U.S. policy makers are trying to push Delhi into an impasse over its domestic problems in order to weaken India's voice in the international community. That is why they are stepping up the anti-Indian activities of the pro-American lobby under various covers and, not infrequently, of direct CIA agents. One should not underestimate the seriousness of the danger they present, as Mr Kudal has pointed out.

L. ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

Mie, the Middle of Japan

From our own correspondent
YURI TAVROVSKY

"Our prefecture of Mie is called the 'middle of Japan,'" Ryoza Tagawa, the elderly but vigorous prefect, told me. "Mie is not only located in the very centre of Japan's four main islands. Among the 47 prefectures we hold the 'middle place' for population, incomes, and unemployment. We have the same problems as most other parts of the country and the same hopes for the future."

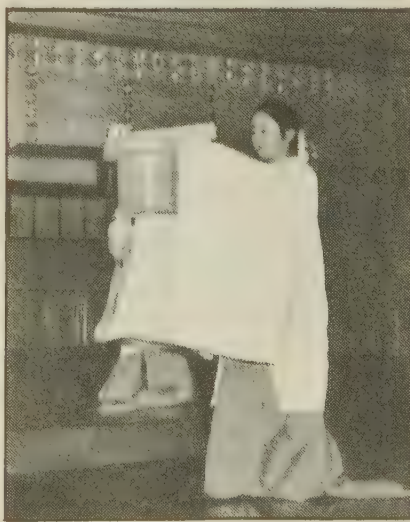
Visit to the Deities

Most Japanese associate the "middle" prefecture of Mie primarily with the Isejingu, the Great Temple of Ise, one of the most venerated Shinto shrines. According to legend, it has for thousands of years been the repository of the magic mirror of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the patron deity of Japan, from whom the Emperor traces his descent.

From the centre of the small town of Ise, a long avenue lined with elegant stone lampposts leads to the main group of temples. The 365 lamps on one side of the avenue are lit up only on the last night of the year, the 366 on the other side, once only in leap years. A wide wooden bridge, spanning a shallow river, is crossed by about 7 million people every year. From the bridge gravel paths lead past neatly trimmed bushes and tall cedars to a stone-lined pool with wooden dippers placed at the edges. Here one is supposed to perform the first ablution—the Shinto gods "do not tolerate" the slightest impurity, either in the literal or the figurative sense of the word.

Having laved one's hands and passed through the ritual gateway, or torii, you find yourself on the stone-paved slope of the river bank. Through the clear water you can see darting little

fishes and the glint of coins both Japanese and foreign. Following the example of a chattering bevy of Japanese schoolgirls in identical dark-blue dresses, I too dropped a few coins into the river. The same moment a priest sprang up as if from nowhere and gave the girls a dressing-down in a loud voice, looking at me out of the corner of his eye. "How can you cast those dirty coins into a sacred river whose waters are used to purify the bodies and souls of millions of people!" he said. "Always remember the saying: 'the beauty of Japan begins at Ise.'"



Gifts to the gods. In the Shinto Temple of Ise.

Everything here is Japanese, and the custom of throwing coins into water for remembrances is not ours. It does not please the gods. This is the purest river in Japan. To keep it pure the Temple bought the land, woods and hills on its banks. Always remember—without cleanliness there can be no harmony and without harmony life would be empty and meaningless."

After the ritual rinsing of the mouth with river water, we headed for the main temple, Naiku. Stone steps, another torii and a rather simple one-storey structure with a neatly thatched roof topped by horn-like carvings comes into view. Roof ornaments of this kind dating back to antiquity and also the torii are two of few elements of genuinely Japanese architecture that have survived to this day.

Ordinary mortals are not allowed to enter the shrine, and so to see the sacred mirror is out of the question. By way of exception I was permitted to come a few steps closer to the temple. Taking my cue from the priest who accompanied me, I bowed my head, clapped my hands twice and bowed again. The priest, dressed in traditional garb and wearing a tall black cap, waved over his head a branch to which were attached strips of white "sacred" paper, and the ritual was over.

Next to the Naiku temple is a sizable open stretch of land bare of vegetation. In 20 years from now the temple will stand on this piece of land now "in repose." It appears that every two decades all the structures of Isejingu are rebuilt. "The thatch roof wears out and the wood gets tired," I was told. "Besides, twenty years is the cycle of life, which has no permanence." Each stage in erecting new temple buildings—from the selection of timber from the "sacred" forest to the transfer of the divine symbols from the old structures—is carried out in strict conformity with tradition and becomes a festive ceremony (and also an occasion for collecting donations). The last time the "life cycle" changed was in 1973, and the building work went on for seven years.

"We Hope to Get Soviet Orders"

The "life cycle" came to mind again and again during my visit to another Mie site—the Nippon Kokan shipyards. The owners of the enterprise which is located not far from the town of Tsu clearly are not devotees of cleanliness and harmony with nature. Huge panels of rusty-looking concrete, cumbersome gantry cranes, giant workshop blocks, smoke, clatter of metal, ear-splitting siren blasts.... Yet there is beauty and harmony in the tankers, bulk carriers, and floating drilling rigs standing at their moorings. Are these not the "sacred symbols" of the 20th century?

When the construction of the shipyards began in Tsu (that was in

1968), the townsfolk looked forward to a much-needed improvement in their conditions of life. Well-paid jobs, for instance. They closed their eyes to the loss of their wonderful beaches, and tried not to think of what would happen to their traditional occupation—fishing. They sincerely rejoiced when the first quarter-million-ton tanker came off the stocks, and when the world's biggest tanker of 560,000 tons displacement was completed. Along with the increase in the tonnage of ships more jobs were opened up and wages increased. But this did not last long. Having reached its peak in the 1970s, the "life cycle" of the Tsu shipyards is clearly ending. Owing to the decline in the demand for ships, shipbuilding today accounts for only two fifths of the output of the enterprise. The enormous dock designed for the building of supertankers has now been divided into two parts, one of them for bulk and liquid gas carriers and the other for floating drilling rigs.

"Equipment for the oil industry makes up about one third of our orders," Yasuo Ishihara, the director of the shipyard, said. "We are hoping to get orders also from the Soviet Union. Some Soviet engineers have already been here and I think they were pleased with what they saw. Sometimes you get something like that," he went on, pointing to a cargo ship standing at a distant dock. The firm that had ordered it went bankrupt. And now it remains a dead weight on the shipyard's books.

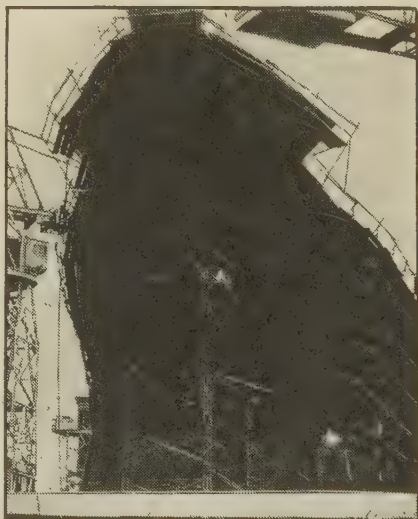
"Yes, these are difficult times," Ishihara continued. "We accept all kinds of orders, we make everything that can be made of steel—bridge and structural sections, containers for transporting compressed gas, reactors for chemical plants and oil refineries. And not long ago we began producing entire petrochemical works, which we dispatch in subassemblies by sea to customers in Saudi Arabia. At present we have a backlog of orders for about a year. That is not bad, but not too good either. To tide over the thin times we try to economize. For the time being we have stopped hiring young workers. We hand out more and more work to subcontractors—it's cheaper and relieves us of responsibility for the workers' wages and social security benefits. Besides, we try to be always at least one step ahead of competitors, by making our output ever more up-to-date and original. At present, for instance, we are working on projects for floating and semi-submerged drilling rigs and tankers for liquid gas, intended for use in Arctic conditions. But the imbalance between supply and demand in Japanese shipbuilding is still too great. The shipyards are beginning to be compared—and with good reason perhaps—to the

dinosaurs, whose sad fate is well known."

Honda and the "Life-Cycle"

In their long-term prognostications Japanese economists predict that the fate of the dinosaurs will be shared also by the automobile industry which is already beginning to have difficulty selling its output and coping with growing competition.

If the Honda auto plant in Suzuka can be classified as a "dinosaur," it is still a vigorous specimen. The Suzuka plant, like the company as a whole, has come the whole way from simple motorcycles and mopeds to cars that have the reputation of being the best in the world. To the original motorcycle factory built in 1960, automobile body and engine plants have been added. "At present we produce annually 630,000 passenger cars, minibuses and light trucks, and also 1,370,000 motorcycles," T. Iwase, general manager of the firm, said. Dressed in the standard overalls and a white-and-green cap



Hard times have set in for shipbuilding.

with the Honda sign on it, he outwardly differed in no way from any of the plant's 9,000 workers and engineers. The only difference in status was perhaps discernible in the depth of the bows he exchanged with the workers we met.

To the uninitiated it is hard to detect the precise moment when the separate parts combine into the finished motor car. From under powerful die presses emerges a stream of silvery mudguards, hoods, doors, the roof and the rest. A huge welding robot, itself also a Honda product, "embraces" the

still separate body parts and welds them together at 150 different points at once. Then the body is dipped into a huge paint bath. The engine suspended from chains is lowered on to the chassis, the body is put in place, the car is "shod," the dashboard installed, the plastic bumpers added and on the indicator at the end of the conveyor a new figure flashes, and another Honda rolls out into the factory yard.

"How does work on the Honda conveyor differ from the art of the Japanese ivory carvers or the growers of dwarf trees so admired by foreigners?" the general manager mused. "Perhaps in that our workers turn out masterpieces in quantity. They too are artists and they are proud of it."

Indeed much is done here to give the worker the illusion that he is not just an appendage to the conveyor, but a creative artist. On the walls of the workshops are slogans such as "Top quality is the fusion of the heart with up-to-date technology" or "the machine you are assembling is your pride." New workers have to learn by rote the five requirements of members of the "united Honda family": always be youthfully ambitious and energetic; take good advice, evolve new ideas and make use with maximum efficiency of working time; enjoy your work and try to create a joyful atmosphere at your work place; constantly do your utmost to ensure that work should proceed harmoniously, and always value initiative and rationalization.

Japanese experts at squeezing the maximum of physical strength and mental energy out of the workers do not confine themselves to slogans. Photographs of the most diligent and enterprising workers are posted prominently. Every department has a board featuring the conditions of competition between rationalizers and the ratings in points given the proposals submitted. Fifteen points entitle the worker to a bronze award, 30 points, to a silver and 50 points, to a gold award; 150 points is rated as a record, and 300 points wins a special Honda prize. The reward for a record showing is a free trip abroad. Winners of the gold award merit a free tour of Japan. The rest receive gifts of various kinds.

As a matter of fact even those who do not distinguish themselves as inventors are constantly reminded that they are fortunate to be employed by Honda. Notices are posted inviting workers to buy company shares; invitations to join racing drivers', volleyball or basketball clubs. The profits of this huge company with 49 plants in 30, mostly developing, countries are big enough to allow it to assign substantial sums for providing incentives to its workers in Japan.

Of course, the employers do not lose by this policy. At the Suzuka plant,

Vladimir Nikolayevich RAYEVSKY

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Guinea



Vladimir Rayevsky, a Ukrainian, was born in the town of Antratsit, Voroshilovgrad Region in the Ukraine on February 2, 1939. He graduated from Rostov University in 1972, from the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee in 1984, and from the Diplomatic Academy of the Foreign Ministry in 1986. He joined the Communist Party in 1963.

Vladimir Rayevsky started work in 1956 at the mining equipment repair plant in his home town of Antratsit.

In 1965 he became a full-time functionary in the Young Communist League and in the Party: from 1965 to 1974 he held, in succession, the posts of second secretary of the Antratsit committee of the Young Communist League of the Ukraine; deputy chief of department and chief of department of the Voroshilovgrad regional committee of the Young Communist League of the Ukraine; editor-in-chief of the Voroshilovgrad region's youth newspaper *Molodogvardeyets*.

In 1974-80 he was chief of sector, deputy head and head of the propaganda department of the Voroshilovgrad regional committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and in 1980-84, secretary of the Voroshilovgrad regional committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Vladimir Rayevsky has been awarded the Badge of Honour Order (twice) and several decorations.

for instance, there have been no strikes for nearly 30 years. The "spring offensives" here have been purely formal. Wages are kept at a "rational" level through the device of hiring primarily young workers who can be paid less than the skilled. Secondary school leavers begin working at Honda for the very modest wage of 100,000 yen a month. It increases with the years. But it is not for nothing that the firm has made "keep fresh and lively" its motto. Only 3.6 per cent of the work force are able to keep up with the pace set in production and remain on the job until pension age. The average age at the Suzuka plant is 28. Obviously those who run the show in the "Honda family" have their own idea of the optimal duration of the workers' "life cycle."

Beer for the Cow

The auto plants at Suzuka, the shipyards at Tsu, the Yokkaichi petrochemical and the Kuwano iron and steel works, which have broken all air pollution records, form the backbone of the industrial belt in the Mie prefecture's lowlands adjoining Ise bay. The heavy and chemical industries which in the 1950s and 1960s replaced the textile and fish processing industries now have themselves to give way to the "clean," science-intensive, high-technology branches. That is the opinion in the prefectural administration.

The restructuring of industry is not easy, it takes time, the officials I spoke to said. If at present the "clean" industries accounted for 27 per cent of the total industrial output of Mie, by the beginning of next century the percentage would at best reach 40. As regards the traditional occupations of the prefecture's inhabitants, no substantial changes were anticipated. Girl-divers would continue to bring up the famous pearls cultivated in the renowned underwater plantations in the Ago and Gokasho bays. The forests, which occupy two thirds of the prefecture's territory, would provide work for thousands of lumber workers. Rice, millet, tangerines and tea would remain the main agricultural products. And of course the famous matsuzaka beef which owes its name to the little town where the unique technology for the production of the meat so highly valued by gourmets was devised would continue to be shipped to all corners of Japan.

"Yes, yes, it's all true," Masahiko Tsuji, manager of the Wadakin farm, said with a smile. "We really do give our calves beer to drink, feed soaked in home brew, and massages."

With obvious pride Tsuji showed us

what are rather ordinary-looking cow sheds and a silo, and introduced us to some of the 25 peasants hired to take care of the two and a half thousand black calves of the wagyu breed. The exotic began in the last shed where the animals were being fattened for the slaughter. Several men and women were pouring beer into their mouths from ordinary half-litre bottles. The cows drank and began mooing as if asking for more. Or perhaps they were looking forward with pleasure to the next half hour when they would be given a hand massage with sechu (home brew) as a "lotion."

Obviously satisfied with the impression he had made, the manager continued:

"Before the end of the last century or, as we say, before Meiji epoch, cows and bulls were used only as draft animals. When people began to eat beef, some enterprising local peasants decided to try out an unusual method of fattening the cattle in order to improve the flavour of the meat. For more than a hundred years now we have had no trouble selling our beef, which differs from ordinary beef for its flavour, tenderness and the fact that the fat does not come in layers but becomes part of the cellular structure of the meat. People with a taste for sukiyaki, a roast beef dish, will pay 6-8 times as much for matsuzaka than for ordinary meat. But it is not only the litre of beer a day and the massaging that accounts for the high quality of our beef. It all begins with the selection of the 3-18-

month-old calves we buy in the neighbouring prefecture of Hyogo. The best feeds come from Hokkaido and America. And the beer is not the cheapest, either. How much do we make? Figure it out yourself. We pay 400,000-500,000 yen for a calf. Two thirds of the carcass of each butchered cow weighing 600-700 kilograms is pure meat, which goes to our own restaurants and shops. The retail price of matsuzaka beef is 30,000-40,000 yen per kilogram. So each cow yields a profit of 12-16 million yen. Cows that yield such a profit would have every right to ask even for champagne!"

Mie prefecture today is standing firmly on its feet. Despite their present relative prosperity as compared with the poverty and dislocation of the early postwar years, its hardworking, enterprising inhabitants look with anxiety to the future. Will the industrial giants continue to be "at least one step ahead" of their competitors? Will the prefectural authorities who dream of attracting to Mie the "clean" and highly profitable branches of industry succeed in recasting the area's industrial structure? Will the peasants be able to withstand competition of imported meat and oranges? And, what is most important, how will the accelerated remilitarization of Japan affect the pace and the direction of economic development? These questions are being ever more frequently asked in "middle Japan."

Mie prefecture—Tokyo

The 80th anniversary of the birth
of Dmitry Shostakovich

Music Should Fire the Heart



Shostakovich's work ushered in an entirely new epoch in music. He revived the larger forms of classical music, breathed new life into them and created a new type of symphonism, thereby making a historic contribution to music. He revitalized the very spirit of classical music, its great humanist traditions, its profound democratism, the spirit of the Beethoven he loved so well. He imparted a deep social significance to art.

If Soviet music, thanks to its distinguished composers, has become an important part of modern musical culture, if it has its own specific character, its own content and, finally, its own intonational style, Shostakovich's role is impossible to overestimate.

Shostakovich, one might say, was a born musician. His musical abilities were truly amazing. But to become a great artist,

ability is not enough. Shostakovich possessed the true spark of greatness, of genius.

His music was inspired by his ardent love for people, his faith in man, an awareness of the imperfections of life, a profound compassion.

I could say much about the remarkable human qualities of Dmitry Shostakovich for I knew him personally for nearly 40 years. But I shall merely speak of his extraordinary kindness, of his indomitable courage that evoked the deepest respect.

Shostakovich is our pride and glory. He had a meaningful message for his fellowmen. He brought untold benefit to his country. He showed the world once again what truly great and splendid men our nation produces.

Georgi SVIRIDOV

Excerpts from the statements, articles and public speeches of Dmitry Shostakovich

"There often come to my mind these words: Music should fire the heart."

"I believe that the world outlook of the artist is the most important thing in his work. Whenever I work on some new composition I set myself the task first and foremost of being useful to my people, to my country. I try to serve my country with all my strength, to work constantly, tirelessly."

"It is a great boon for the Soviet artist that work for him is inseparable from the common great goals of human culture, that he is conscious of being closely linked with the life and destinies of his people and that his own progress is measured only by the great yardstick: the overall interests of the whole people. I believe this to be an enormous boon, a tremendous advantage for the artist, inasmuch as it saves him from futile wandering and self-adulatory in-

dividualism, from being diverted onto the byways of art that lead to decadence, sterility, non-professionalism."

"Living in Leningrad during the blockade I wrote the Seventh Symphony. It was dedicated to the heroic struggle waged by the Leningraders for the freedom of their native city. I am happy that my work has also been part of that struggle of my compatriots."

"We must raise our voice in defence of peace and it is clear to all of us that the fight for peace is a fight for progress, for creative constructive labour, for democracy, for the future of humanity. It would be a crime against our conscience, a crime against humanity, against our contemporaries and coming generations not to make use of all the forces and possibilities at our disposal to expose the bearers and preachers of ideas of militarism and hatred, and curb the warmongers."

"It is undoubtedly highly important for a composer to possess an unerring sense of the future, to try to be if only slightly ahead of his musical environment, to take into account the perpetual movement of social forces, of the changing artistic tastes of his audience. I want to say that this sense of the future, this sense of the new is evolved naturally, prompted by the need to speak of the new in a new way, and not by the dictates of the mode. There is nothing easier than to declare oneself an innovator by adopting the latest techniques of avant-garde music. No, that is not what I mean when I speak of a sense of the future; that sense should not lead us away from the national traditions, from the realities of the present."

"Music that is comprehensible to each and all is a source of joy and inspiration to people, enriches them immeasurably and extends their life's horizons. Such is the power we musicians wield. But this great power of our art imposes on us a great responsibility. We must always bear in mind not only the aesthetic but also the social significance of music. I wish to say this in particular as an exhortation to young talented musicians who are setting out on the road of great art. This is not my own discovery; it belongs to all truly great artists, past and present."

The Reform Continues

Whenever we come across something complicated and at first glance incomprehensible we are wont to exclaim: "It's a Chinese puzzle!" The two words are not just synonyms for something superdifficult, defying the imagination. For the Chinese themselves their own written language has always been a puzzle. Indeed, think of having to learn something like fifty thousand characters! Most of them extremely difficult to write, besides. Suffice it to say that some characters consist of 25-30 elements. Essentially one of the greatest and, incidentally, the earliest, of inventions (as far back as the Shang Yin epoch, i.e., in the 16th-11th centuries B.C., there existed a developed system of ideography), the ideograms became a brake, an obstacle to the spread of enlightenment.

The great Chinese writer Lu Xin, a strong advocate of a reform of the Chinese written language, called it the "seat of an infectious malady." "Our characters," he explained, "are truly an instrument for bamboozling the people. The working masses have no possibility of studying, of learning a trade, and even many members of the privileged, monied classes are unable to master the characters after 10 to 20 years of study."

An active search for ways of simplifying the written language began after the formation of the People's Republic of China, when a society for the linguistic reform was set up. In 1952 a



Calligraphy has always been regarded as a fine art in China.

State Committee for Linguistic Reform was established. It began by simplifying the characters most widely used, working out a minimum of characters, introducing phonetic characters based on Latin, and introducing a unified national vernacular based on the Peking dialect, putonghua.

The urgent need to unify the written language, to resolve concrete theoretical tasks in the sphere of philology, phonetics and dialectology was discussed at an all-China conference in Peking organized by the State Committee of Education and the State Committee for Linguistic Reform.

The speakers, the newspaper Zhongguo jiaoyu wrote, noted that the reform of the Chinese language would be continued in the course of the current five-year plan (1986-90). Among other things, it is planned to introduce putonghua throughout the country by 1990 as the common language.

Disco-Racket

FBI agents have detained in Boston Morris Leay, president of Roulette Records. The respectable boss of the recording company has turned out to be closely linked with the underworld, which controls a large proportion of the companies and shops marketing records and cassettes. Those proprietors who would not "cooperate" with the mafia courted trouble: one of the stubborn dealers was brutally beaten up by the thugs. Moreover, a police officer who was investigating the underworld operators of the music business was murdered.

The investigation, which started more than three years ago, eventually led police to the head office of the MCA, whose output also includes discs. The marketing end was controlled by crime bosses, who used blackmail and violence to make shopowners order records and cassettes. The same methods were used in radio record advertising. The scale of the operations of the underworld music syndicates is illustrated by the revenue of the crime bosses: \$4 billion a year.

Another 21 suspects have been arrested in addition to the "Godfather" of the American music business. Police seized 11 guns with silencers, which the mafiosi used as the "final argument."

MISCELLANY

Soviet books [especially works by Lenin] and educational literature are popular in Burkina Faso. A Soviet book fair held in Ouagadougou has reaffirmed this. The exhibition featured books by Burkina Faso writers, too. The sponsors dedicated the fair to the International Year of Peace.

An association of experts in Spanish-language literature is to be set up in socialist countries following a decision adopted by an international meeting of the socialist world's writers, translators and literary critics in Havana. The meeting discussed the problems involved in studying and publicizing Cuban literature.

Victor Hugo's novel "The Toilers of the Sea" has recently been made into a TV film which is faithful to the original except that the setting has been transferred from the English Channel to a place near Batumi on the Black Sea coast. The French film director Edmond Sechan and his Soviet colleague Guram Gabeskiriya, the makers of this joint Soviet-French two-part film, found the location most appropriate to their subject. Produced by the Antenne 2 TV company and the Pathé-cinéma studios (France) and, on the Soviet side, by Central Television and the Gruzia film studios the film will be shown on French television in October.

A monument to fighters against nazism has been created by sculptors in Hanover, the F.R.G. The idea of perpetuating their memory came from the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution—the Anti-Fascist Union (AVNP). The intention to put up the monument in the central square of the city met with opposition from the municipal authorities. The AVNP pointed out in its statement that the ban on erecting the monument to victims of nazi barbarism was nothing short of blasphemy and an overt attempt to erase the lessons of history from people's memories.

Communists have always opposed Socialists, accusing them of betraying the interests of the working class. Why, then, have they now taken to wooing them, as, for example, the Socialist International?

Erik DAHLGREN
Uppsala, Sweden



Historian
Vladimir
RUBTSOV
replies:

Your letter begins with a statement with which I should like to take issue. I refer to the observation that "Communists have always opposed Socialists." Why always? In many instances they have presented a united front with Socialists, albeit most often at grassroots level. Let me note that joint action by Communists and Socialists is far more natural than confrontation between them. For they are both parties of the working class. Both are committed to transforming the exploitative society on the basis of justice.

But there are differences between them. And they are—and have always been—of a fundamental nature. The two sections of the working-class movement are engaged in an argument about ways and means of combating social injustice.

By limiting themselves to demands for economic reform and seeking immediate material benefits for the working class, Socialists are unable to shake the political power of the employers and thus help perpetuate the capitalist system. This is the Communist view.

History provides examples to prove it. During World War I the leaders of the Second International to all intents and purposes betrayed the ideals of the international association of workers and sided with "their" respective national bourgeoisie in the belligerent countries.

I remind you of this unhappy fact for only one reason: to show how dangerous it is to yield to nationalism and militaristic hysteria. In the fateful 1930s and 1940s a high price was paid for this. The failure of the

various sections of the working-class movement in Germany and Europe as a whole to remove their differences and form a united workers' front against fascism and the imminent world war proved tragic for tens of millions of people.

Of course, it is forty years since the second world war ended. The world has changed beyond recognition. But this lesson is, if anything, even more relevant.

Our age has brought certain problems into such high relief that arguments that once seemed purely theoretical must be resolved urgently in practice. Formerly, a worker employed in the munitions industry could sooth his conscience with the consideration that a good wage was more important than "abstract" concern for peace among nations. But today the very weapons of death he is manufacturing have put the choice between eternal peace and "eternal rest" not only before individuals or groups of individuals but before mankind as a whole.

Workers in entire branches of the economy (even in the most advanced and prosperous capitalist countries) do indeed have to face the daily struggle for jobs and livelihoods. But simultaneously, it has become more important for the political parties and their leaders not to lose their perspective and to be aware of universal human interests not in the abstract but as having a direct bearing on each individual. That is why it is vital to achieve united action by workers towards the cardinal goal of preventing a world war which could mean the end of the human race. What would then be the relevance of the differences which today, unfortunately, all too often undermine the much needed unity?

This brings us to your question. It is true that contacts between the CPSU, the Social Democratic parties and the Socialist International have on the whole increased in recent years. Moscow has played host three times to members of the Socialist International's Advisory Council on Disarmament headed by Kalle Sorsa. This country has also been visited by Olof Palme, Willy

TAKING UP A POINT

Brandt, Neil Kinnock and leaders of other Socialist parties. But this is not the same thing as "wooing them."

It is just that the need is pressing and that promising opportunities exist for cooperation between Communists and Socialists on the paramount issue of our day—the struggle against the danger of war. Positions have drawn closer. As the resolutions of the Socialist International's 17th congress in Lima show, the majority of its constituent parties hold views on the issues of disarmament and the prevention of war very similar to the position of the Soviet Communists.

The congress has come out for an immediate halt and eventual banning of all nuclear weapon tests, a 50 per cent cut in strategic nuclear potential, an end to the deployment and subsequent reduction and elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons, and compliance with the Soviet-American agreements of strategic defensive and offensive weapons. It has condemned attempts to extend the arms race to outer space and has come out in favour of a stronger nuclear non-proliferation regime and the creation of nuclear-free zones and corridors.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Party congress records a commitment to cooperate with Socialist, Social Democratic and Labour parties. "However great the divergences between various trends of the working-class movement might be," the Programme says, "they present no obstacle to a fruitful and systematic exchange of views, parallel or joint actions to remove the threat of war, improve the international situation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and uphold the interests and rights of the working people."

The growing dialogue between the Communists and Socialists should not be interpreted as "wooing" by either side. Narrow-mindedness, sectarianism and dissension on issues of war and peace are only too likely to have fateful consequences.

The Psychology of Error

David BRONSTEIN,
International grandmaster

After the 16th game in the rematch, world champion Gary Kasparov was three points ahead. With the score at 9.5 to 6.5 he had every reason to expect an easy final victory. He certainly could not have anticipated the three setbacks in succession that were to follow—although they were not entirely unpredictable. In

Kasparov only needs to draw the remaining games—he has drawn the 20th already—to retain the title. Still he is in a difficult position as losing one game will place him behind Karpov. Then, for the first time, he will have to catch up. Will he be able to do so? We can only wait and see. After three lost games in a



psychological state, Karpov chose the right line at the opening stage. The first 13 moves repeated those of the 15th game. Had the score been equal, Kasparov would have probably realized that Karpov had no intention of drawing the game but had something up his sleeve. Yet, with the memory of his successful resistance in the 15th game he thought he could easily achieve a draw.

Karpov's 14th move in this 17th game has signally contributed to the theory of openings, adding a new dimension to one of the involved variations of the Grünfeld Defence. White sacrificed a pawn to force an advantageous ending. The odds were against Kasparov. Karpov made a thorough study of the endgame, building up his advantage with each new move. As time was working against him, Kasparov was in no position to offer the only correct response. Karpov's Rook made a foray into the adverse camp to devastate the array of Black's pawns, and, as White's passed pawn advanced steadily towards the back of the board, the world champion resigned.

Grandmaster Tartakower, the distinguished chess writer, made the same point, rather differently, when he observed: "It is not he who makes mistakes that loses, but he who makes the last mistake."

In short, to understand why he lost three successive games Kasparov must replay them in his head: I suggest we do likewise to see how Karpov was able to capitalize on Kasparov's errors in all three games.

Let us start with the 17th. Here Kasparov again employed the Grünfeld Defence, which I think was a major miscalculation on his part. In his euphoria, believing the result of the match to be a foregone conclusion, Kasparov evidently thought his erudition would always enable him to force a draw. Intuitively assessing his opponent's

psychological state, Karpov chose the right line at the opening stage. The first 13 moves repeated those of the 15th game. Had the score been equal, Kasparov would have probably realized that Karpov had no intention of drawing the game but had something up his sleeve. Yet, with the memory of his successful resistance in the 15th game he thought he could easily achieve a draw.

Both Kasparov and Karpov are exceptionally good at playing White and like to open by moving the Queen's pawn two squares forward. This is what Kasparov did when starting the 18th game. How should Karpov have replied? It is hard to give any definite answer. After all, he had to take the risk. In such situations each player evolves his own personal style. In the event Karpov decided to create a weak position deliberately in the hope of pro-



A gallery of chess fans.

Photo by Rodrigo Fernandez (Novosti Press Agency)

critical situations, former champion Anatoly Karpov always bounces back, and an opponent who has allowed himself to relax is immediately vulnerable.

Kasparov is doubtless aware of this, but his overconfidence still cost him the 17th, 18th and 19th games thus allowing Karpov to equalize. Now the rematch seems to be back to square one. True,

row, he is able to try and draw games, but he cannot recklessly forge ahead as before to win.

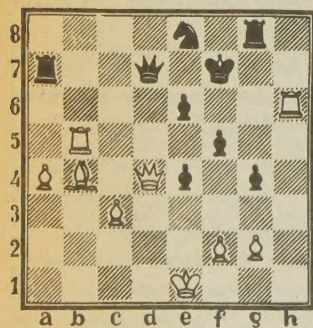
As a score at 12-all would suit Kasparov, his chances of retaining the world chess crown are still considerable, but only if he understands where he went astray.

Nobody has ever denied the inevitability of error in chess. Probably Leo Tolstoy, who loved playing chess for rela-

voking his younger adversary to try imprudently to win and perhaps generate for Black a happy conjunction of circumstances, to enable him to capture the initiative. He exposed both flanks to build up a wait-and-see position in the centre.

Karpov's moves paid off. Kasparov went all out to win, and though he played well he came up against the clock. Why did he waste 26 minutes on his 11th move? His pawn manoeuvre was elementary. He wasted more time on his 15th, 16th and 17th moves. As a result, when, short of time, he needed to concentrate to capitalize on his winning position, his nerves let him down, and he could no longer think clearly.

First Kasparov unwisely passed up the option of forcing a draw by a thrice repeated check with his Queen at the 28th move. Then he overlooked Karpov's surprisingly tenacious 31st move. In the event, harassed by the time factor and wanting to chalk up the required 40 moves within the limit, he rashly checked the Black King with his Rook on his 38th move. The position before his 38th move is shown below:



Had the champion moved his Queen to e5 he could

have called it a day. Indeed, one can imagine Karpov's state of mind before this 38th move. The game was adjourned with Kasparov in a losing position. Now he was only one point ahead.

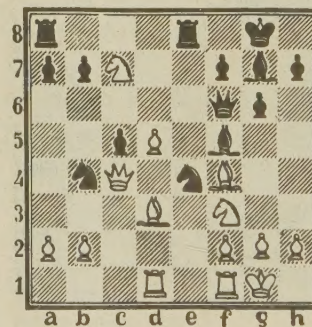
Anyone wanting to reproduce the full flavour of the game should note Kasparov's elegant pawn moves in the opening and Karpov's fluid middle game, when by moving his King back and forth he seemed to invite White to attack. This hazardous strategy, suggested by theory, was his only hope. He was lucky. No doubt Karpov will remember this game to the end of his days, for it cost him dearly.

Now interest in the match, somewhat subdued after Kasparov's wins in the 14th and 16th games, revived. It was clear that, with this exchange of body blows, the two contenders could no longer indulge in cool classical chess and that from now on each new game would come under the pressure of additional psychological factors.

Before the 19th game Kasparov had his third and last time out rightly as he needed a respite. The experts naturally presumed that after his fiasco in the 17th game Kasparov would now choose more dependable openings instead of the hazardous Grünfeld Defence. However note that he is only 23; youth rarely likes compromise and so in the 19th game he made possibly his greatest mistake again selecting the Grünfeld Defence.

In the early stages of the return match the Grünfeld Defence had somewhat thrown Karpov at a loss. By now though Kasparov should have on no account allowed Karpov to exploit the results of his homework. He may have hoped to embarrass Karpov with a surprise 7th move, which he had not used before but which is to be found in all manuals on openings.

Karpov, on the other hand, with his surprise 14th move forced Kasparov to take 21 minutes to respond. The position was a complex one abounding in elegant combinations. However, with jagged nerves Kasparov again renounced patient defence tactics and, after a hesitant 25 minutes, boldly sacrificed a Rook for a Knight. Karpov spent 22 minutes before accepting the challenge. He thrust his Knight forward at his 16th move to bring both Black Rooks under a two-pronged attack. The situation on the board was now as follows:



Having won the Exchange, Karpov, encouraged by his two earlier wins, displayed rare ingenuity, repulsing every attack and, as the game reached its climax, he obtained a won ending.

Kasparov offered his resig-

nation by telephone. The game follows:

Grünfeld Defence

Karpov —
White

Kasparov —
Black

1. d4 Nf6 2. c4 g6 3. Nc3 d5 4. Nf3 Bg7 5. Qb3 dxc4 6. Qxc4 O-O 7. e4 Na6 8. Be2 c5 9. d5 e6 10. O-O exd5 11. exd5 Bf5 12. Bf4 Re8 13. Rad1 Ne4 14. Nb5 Qf6 15. Bd3 Nb4 16. Nc7 Nxd3 17. Nxe8 Rxe8 18. Qxd3 Qxb2 19. Rde1 Qb4 20. Nd2 Qa4 21. Qc4 Qxc4 22. Nxc4 Bc3 23. Nd2 Bxd2 24. Bxd2 Bd7 25. Bf4 Bb5 26. f3 g5 27. Bxg5 Bxf1 28. Kxf1 Nd6 29. Be7 Nc8 30. Bxc5 Rd8 31. Re5 f6 32. Rf5 b6 33. Bd4 Ne7 34. Bxf6 Rxd5 35. Rg5+ Rxg5 36. Bxg5 Nc6 37. Ke2 Kf7 38. Kd3 Ke6 39. Kc4 Ne5+ 40. Kd4 Nc6. Adjourned, with Black resigning on the next day.

The impossible had happened. With three successive wins, former champion Karpov is now close to transferring "former" to the present titleholder. To prevent this, Kasparov must abandon his erroneous strategy of playing solely to win.

After all, however the next four games go, the psychological factor will now dominate. It is now a question of which of them is able to stand the pace.

In the 20th game played on September 29, both opponents showed reserve, agreeing on a draw on the 22nd move. The Catalan Opening was employed. It was twice seen in the 1984 match, with both encounters ending then in draws.

The score in the match now stands at 10-10.

Leningrad, September 30

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

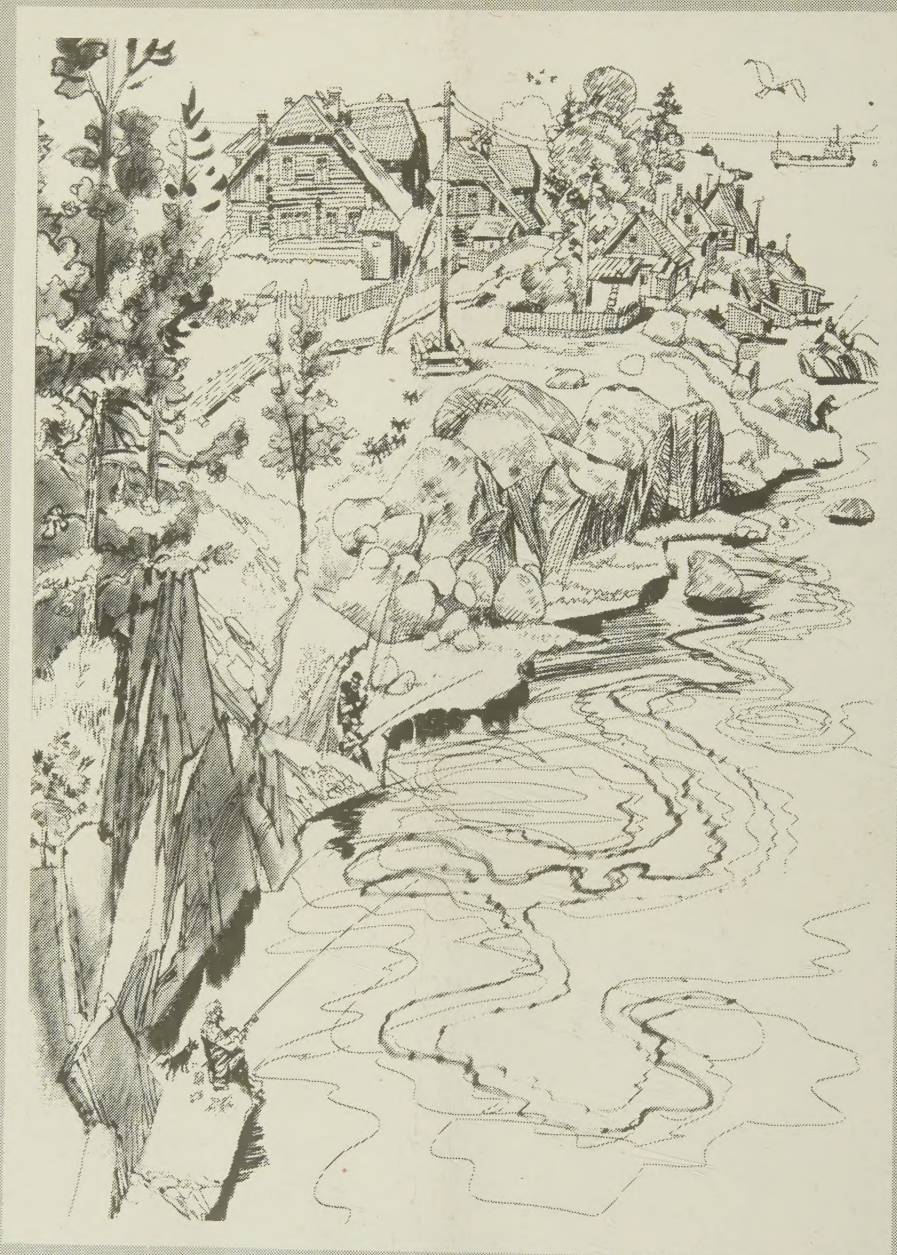
V/O VNESHORGREKLAMA has 20 years' experience of rendering advertising services to foreign companies in the U.S.S.R.

WE OFFER OUR HELP— THE SUREST WAY ONTO THE SOVIET MARKET

V/O VNESHORGREKLAMA will help you:

- establish business contacts with the representatives of prospective buyers and decision-making organizations;
- obtain information on market demand for specific goods and services;
- organize all-round product-promotion campaigns;
- advertise your wares in the Soviet specialized press;
- arrange advertising symposia and presentations;
- acquire outdoor and indoor advertising space (at retail outlets, stadiums);
- organize direct-mail advertising and special advertising;
- publish and distribute special advertising and informative matter;
- place ads and announcements in the Business-man's Moscow directory;
- advertise by radio;
- undertake public relations exercises;
- make use of other advertising services practised in the U.S.S.R.

V/O VNESHORGREKLAMA
SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE
ADVERTISING ORGANIZATION
31, Kakhovka Street, Moscow, 113461,
U.S.S.R.
Cables: VNESHORGREKLAMA
MOSCOW
Telephone: 331-83-11
Telex: 411265



Karelian landscape.

**INTERNATIONAL
YEAR OF PEACE**
PHOTO
AND GRAPHICS
CONTEST



**Drawing by
Vladimir
MOCHALOV
(U.S.S.R.)**

ИНДЕКС 70622

НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ